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THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT, JERUSALEM

THE discoveries recorded below were the outcome of urgent sewage works conducted by the Municipality of Jerusalem in the summer of 1937. In laying a new sewer, a trench, one metre wide and from three to four metres deep, was dug down the approximate centre of the Kidron Valley (*Wādi el Jōz*, *Wādi Sitti Maryam*), east of the City (see Fig. 1). Passing within fifty metres of the west side of the Byzantine and Crusader Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, it exposed a series of pavements and other remains of masonry evidently contemporary with the Crusader reconstruction of the church.

As the laying of the sewer on that line would have caused destruction or encumbrance of these remains, the Municipal Engineer courteously consented to divert the part of the sewer which was to have crossed them, and, rightly surmising that the construction of the old Turkish sewer a little farther west would already have damaged any similar remains there, he adopted that line instead.

The same pavements were again exposed only in a short trench connecting this alternative line with the southward continuation of the original line. At the south end of this trench a short strip of the most southerly pavement, which was found to obstruct the fall of the sewer, was removed, and part of a lower pavement discovered. (See Fig. 2, p. 121.)

Though confined to the scope of the Municipality's works, these discoveries afford a concrete, if slight, indication of the extent and character of a group of Crusader buildings which can quite certainly be identified with the great Abbey of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat that stood alongside the church in the twelfth century. Although its walls seem to have been ruined almost down to their foundations, yet its floor-plan probably remains. It is deeply buried underneath the soil that has subsequently accumulated in this part of the valley, now an olive grove, but its remains have not been built over or disturbed like the ruins of most of the other great abbeys of the Latin Kingdom. If the whole of the olive-grove opposite the church could be excavated it seems likely that an exceptionally complete plan would come to light.

History of the Abbey and its Church

During the twelfth century the Abbey of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat ranked among the half a dozen greater abbeys of Jerusalem and the Latin Kingdom. Entrusted with the care of one of the Holy Places of Jerusalem, the traditional site of the tomb in which the Virgin lay before Her Assumption, it enjoyed the special protection and favour of Godfrey de

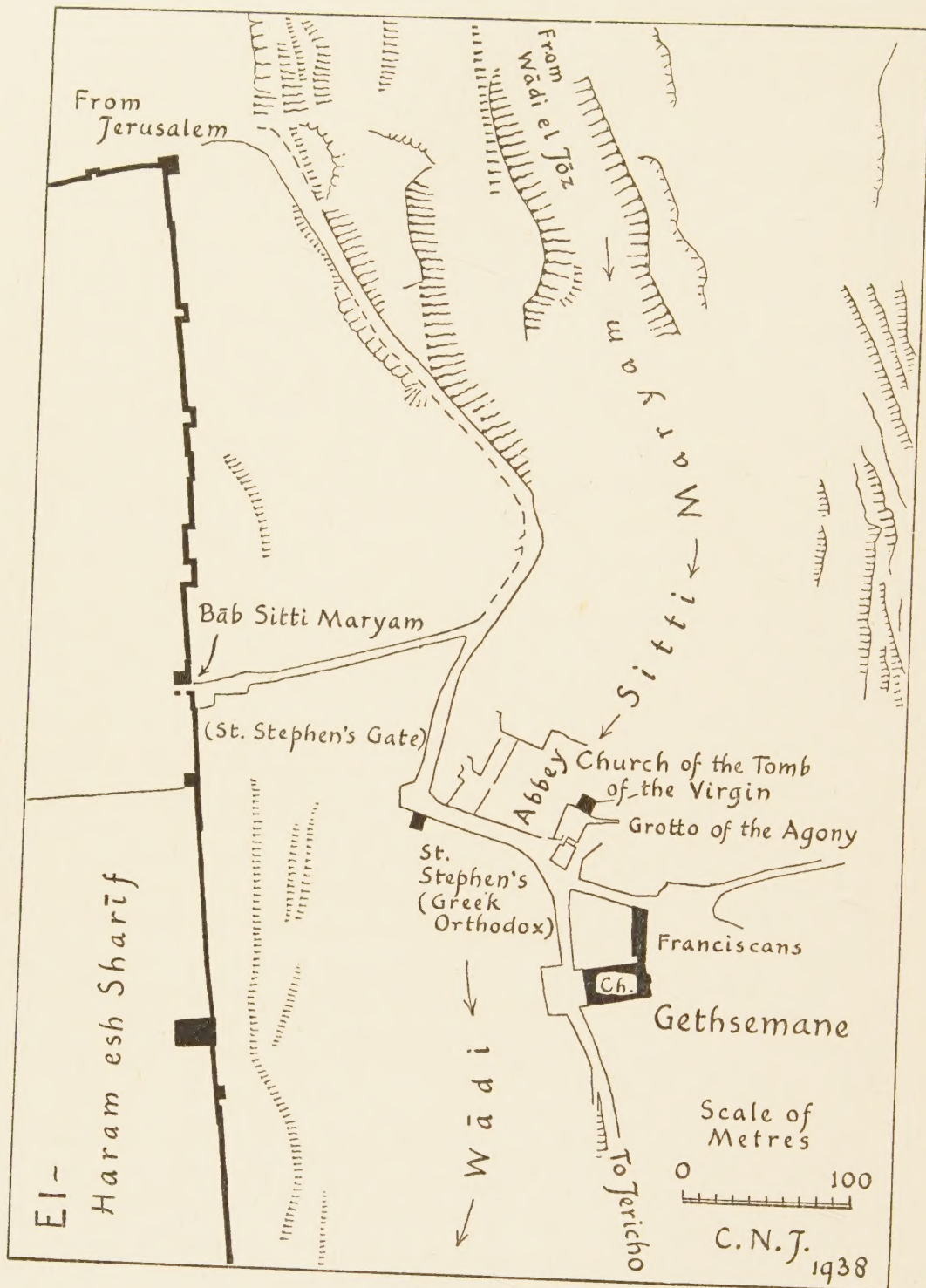


FIG. I.

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY

Bouillon, its founder, and of his successors, the Latin Kings of Jerusalem. By gift of the kings, the barons, and the bishops, it acquired property and tithes, not only in the royal domain, the district surrounding Jerusalem, but also throughout the Crusading states, even in Trans-Jordan, Edessa, and Cilicia. It enrolled the kings as well as prominent barons in the confraternity which subscribed to the hospital or charity which it maintained. At the same time the abbey was extensively endowed by the Norman kings of Sicily, in Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia.¹ Both in the port of Messina and in the ports of the Latin Kingdom, its goods were exempt from the usual harbour and customs dues; it was allowed to import into Palestine clothes and cloth, iron, steel, and timber, as well as food supplies such as cheeses, tunny, and bacon, duty free.² In common with the other religious communities and the cities it owed the king a military 'aid' in time of emergency; and this was assessed at a number of hired soldiers (*serjeants, servientes*), second only to the number owed by the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre, the leading monastery of the kingdom during the twelfth century.³

On the ecclesiastical side it was specially protected by the popes. Its original members were monks who had accompanied the First Crusade on its march from Europe to Palestine;⁴ and that they belonged to the great Benedictine congregation of Cluny, which produced the popes who had inspired the Crusade, may be inferred from the fact that one of the early abbots was himself a monk of Cluny.⁵ Like the other important Cluniac foundation of the Latin Kingdom, the large abbey of St. Salvator of Mount Thabor, yet unlike the majority of Cluniac houses, which were priories dependent upon the parent abbey of Cluny itself, it was recognized as an abbey from the first, and, while keeping Cluniac observance, it seems to have remained independent of Cluniac jurisdiction.⁶ At the same time, its independence of the local hierarchy was repeatedly affirmed by the popes, beginning with Paschal II,⁷ himself a

¹ See H.-F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat*, Paris, 1880, and additional charters published by C. Kohler, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, Vol. VII, pp. 108-222.

² See Kohler, *op. cit.*, Nos. XLVII, &c.

³ As set down in the 'Livre de Jean d'Ibelin', purporting to give the state of the kingdom, c. 1187, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois*, I, p. 426.

⁴ William of Tyre, Bk. IX, Chap. ix. They are elsewhere described, c. 1187, as 'black monks', i.e. Benedictines, Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, p. 199. Like the other Holy Places, the shrine with which they were entrusted had been served by Benedictine, or Western, monks in the time of Charlemagne, *Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis*, *ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵ Gilduinus, a kinsman of King Baldwin II, Röhrich, 'Syria Sacra' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. X, p. 38.

⁶ See Gariador, *Les anciens monastères Bénédictins en Orient*, pp. 49 ff., 75.

⁷ Bull of 1113, Delaborde, *op. cit.*, No. II.

Cluniac monk. By a later pope, its abbot was granted the privilege of wearing the pontifical insignia of mitre, ring, and dalmatic¹ apparently before the head of any other religious house of Crusader foundation in Jerusalem was allowed them. In acknowledgement of the protection it received from the popes, the abbey paid an annual tribute of an ounce of gold to the Holy See.²

The construction of the existing porch and stairs leading down to the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin was due to that Cluniac community. When they first settled in the valley, soon after the capture of Jerusalem, the monks found the earlier Byzantine church in ruins. First founded in the fifth century, it had consisted of an upper and a lower church, the lower containing the shell of the rock-cut tomb which formed the shrine. This lower church or crypt still survived, and indeed survives to-day, though rather more deeply buried now by the subsequent accumulation of soil in the bed of the valley. At some time during the first fifty years of their occupation, *c.* 1100–50, probably within the first thirty years, the monks had the present porch and stairway added to give access to the shrine, already well below ground level. In its present form the church gave sepulchre to Queen Melisaund, widow of King Fulk, in 1161, and to several other Crusader nobles. From that time onwards the stairway is frequently mentioned in the accounts of pilgrims, or in the itineraries they used. It made a striking approach to the shrine, the splendid decoration of which the itineraries also describe as it existed shortly before the fall of Jerusalem in 1187.³ While the porch, stairway, and crypt that compose the present church have survived little damaged or altered,⁴ the shrine has not. As it stands to-day the cubical structure containing the tomb has lost not only the domed *baldacchino*, plated with gold and silver, which surmounted it, but even the wall-arcades which decorated its four faces. Some details probably belonging to the latter, which are now kept locked up in the northern arm of the crypt, are shown in Pl. LX, 3, 4.⁵

¹ Privilege of Papal Legate, 1162, and Bull of Alexander III, Kohler, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VII, Nos. XXXIII, XXXV, respectively. For the other monasteries see Röhrich, *op. cit.*; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois*, I, p. 415.

² Delaborde, *op. cit.*, Nos. XXII, XXV; Kohler, *op. cit.*, No. LXXVII.

³ See translations in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. V: John of Wurzburg, p. 51; Joannes Phocas, p. 21; Theodorich, p. 37.

⁴ The façade of the entrance appears to have escaped any great structural alteration, no less than the interior. It is difficult to follow Enlart's suggestion that there was originally a double entrance, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, II, p. 232.

⁵ They are reproduced by the courtesy of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, whose Community now holds the greater part of the church, including the part where the capitals are kept. For a plan of the shrine showing the position of the arcades, and also for other details of the architecture and

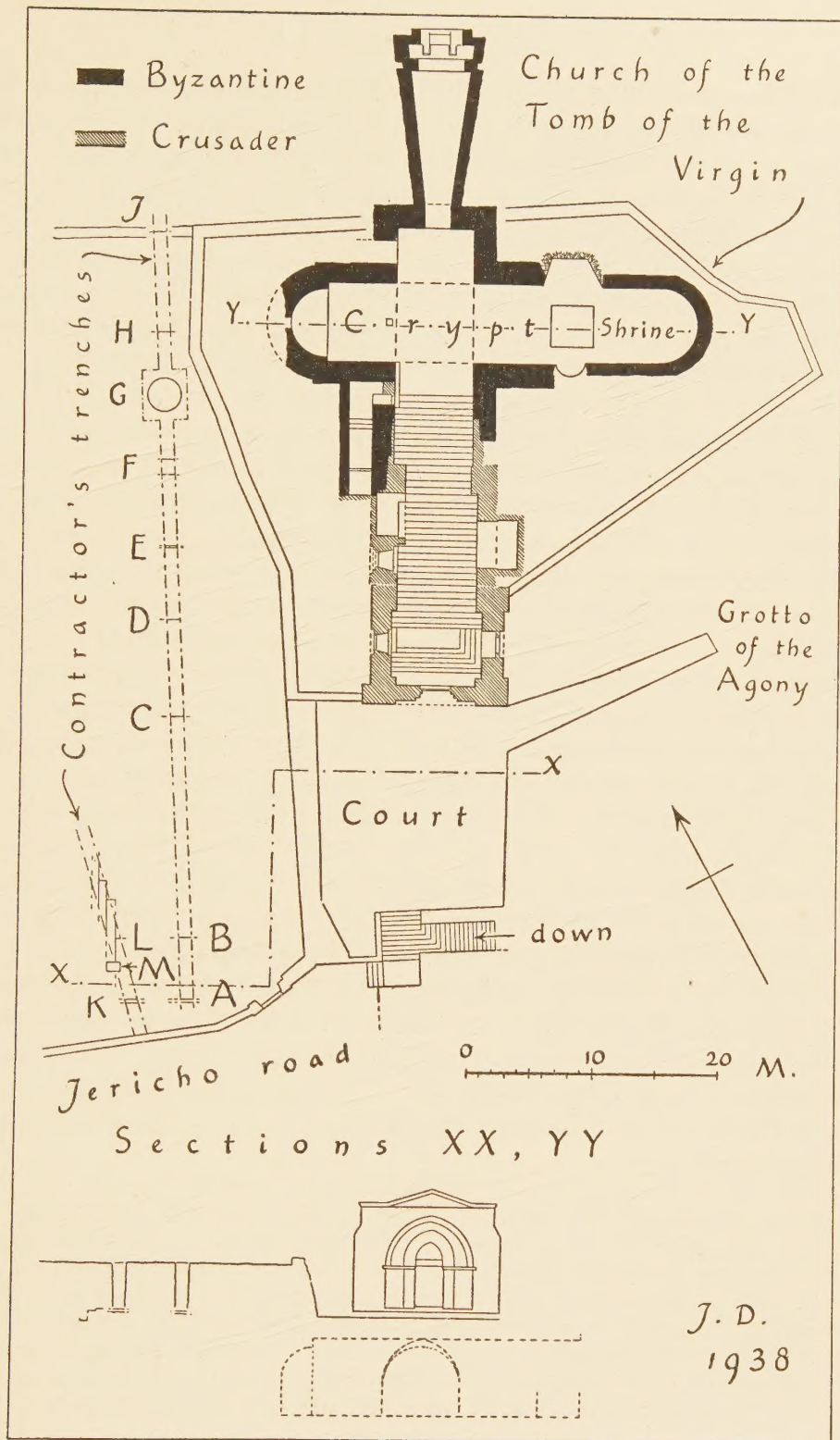


FIG. 2. Key-plan, the Church after L.-H. Vincent, O.P.

Not later than about 1150 the monks seem to have built a new upper church also, not on the old circular plan, but on a basilican plan. So, at least, it is shown in some of the several extant plans of Jerusalem dating from c. 1150 to c. 1180. The more important are in manuscripts at Cambrai, the Hague, Stuttgart, and Brussels.¹ They differ from each other, both in their method of representing the lay-out of the city and its buildings, and also in the details of the buildings themselves. In three cases they follow the convention of showing the city as a circle with the east point at the top, and its buildings in long elevation; and accordingly turn the churches either to the north or south. In only one plan, that at Cambrai, in which the city is shown with greater verisimilitude as a rectangle with its north-west corner at the top, is there any attempt to draw the churches in their normal orientation, and in this St. Mary's is made to match the rest. But, with the sole exception of the Hague plan, which virtually reduces every shrine to a cross-surmounted dome of Moslem simplicity, the plans agree in representing St. Mary's as a typical Romanesque basilica, similar to the other churches of Crusader construction in or near the city. It is shown with clerestory windows, external eastern apse, and twin towers at the west front. The plan and structure of the existing crypt, still substantially as the monks left it (Fig. 2, p. 121), would conceivably allow the addition of an upper church of that form, and of normal orientation.²

Preoccupied as the authors of pilgrim itineraries generally were with the outstanding features of the church, the stairs to the shrine in the crypt, and the shrine itself, only two of them refer at all to the conventual buildings, and the upper church which formed part of those buildings. The *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* of John of Würzburg, c. 1165, states: 'Tota vallis pertinet ad coenobium in summitate ejusdem vallis [Josaphat] supra rivum torrentis Cedron situm, juxta hortum, in quo saepe Dominus noster cum discipulis suis solebat convenire [that is, the neighbourhood of the 'Grotto of the Agony', where medieval tradition averred that Jesus had also taught his disciples]. In hujus coenobii crypta adhuc hodie ostenditur sepultura beatissimae virginis Mariae.'³ The *De Locis Sanctis* of Theodoric, c. 1171-3, after describing the crypt, goes on to state:

history of the church, see L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Pt. IV, Chap. XXXI; especially Fig. 346, p. 815, for the shrine, and Pl. LXXXIV, 3, showing some of the same details.

¹ See *ibid.*, Fig. 387, p. 947, or ZDPV, Vol. XIV, Pl. 4 (at Cambrai); *ibid.*, Vol. XV, Pl. 1 (? Florence, 14th- or 15th-century copy of 12th-century plan), Pl. 3 (Hague), Pl. 4 (Stuttgart); and Tobler, *Planographie von Jerusalem*, Gotha, 1858, Pl. II, or de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, p. 411 (Brussels).

² Cf. Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 831.

³ Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, p. 168, quoted by Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 819. Cf. *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. V, 'John of Wurzburg's Description', p. 51.

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‘Abhinc in ipsam ecclesiam tantis ascenditur gradibus quantis in crypta descensum est. Est autem ipsa ecclesia et omnes ejus officinae muris altis, turribus firmis et propugnaculis adversus gentilium insidias valde munita, circa se plurimas habens cisternas. Exeuntibus ipsam cryptam ad sinistram capella parvula in ipsis sita gradibus occurrit. In ipsa quoque ecclesia Suriani proprium habent altare.’¹

From these two slight descriptions, it appears that the monastery was situated in the bed of the valley; that it was accessible from the crypt by a stairway other than the present one, though of the same height; that the same stairway gave access to the upper church also; and that this church as well as the monastic buildings were surrounded by a strongly fortified outer wall. Since every monastery was very much like another, neither author thought it necessary to add further details. From the charters it is known that, in addition to abbot, prior, and sub-prior, the abbey numbered the usual officers among its members: *magister hospitalis*, *cellararius*, *elemosynarius*, &c.² Hence, it may safely be assumed that its buildings comprised the usual divisions: church, cloister, and *curia*, or outer enclosure, the last probably including the alms-house (*hospitalis*) which the abbey maintained for the sick and poor as well as for pilgrims.³ While it is clear that the conventual buildings all lay on the west, or valley side of the crypt, their actual disposition must have depended upon the situation of the conventual church, i.e. either the present crypt or the presumed upper church. As will be seen, the new discoveries throw some light upon their plan.

The monastery buildings did not survive the Moslem reconquest of Palestine in 1187. The community fled from Jerusalem when Saladin captured the city, and, like the other religious houses, it re-established itself in one of the coastal cities, probably in Acre some time after its recapture (1191). Like the not far distant convent of the nuns of St. Lazarus of Bethany, the abandoned monastery at Jerusalem was at once demolished by Saladin to provide building material for the repair of the walls of the city, then threatened by a fresh Crusader invasion.⁴ Only the underground church, consisting of the

¹ ed. Tobler, *De Locis Sanctis*, p. 57, quoted by Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 820. Cf. *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. V, 'Theodorich's Description', p. 38.

² Röhrich, *ZDPV*, X, 'Syria Sacra', pp. 38-9.

³ Delaborde, *op. cit.*, No. V, 1115, and Nos. VII, IX, X, XI, XIX, the last confirming its constitution.

⁴ Ernoul, *L'Estat de la Cité de Jherusalem* (c. 1231), in H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, p. 51. Cf. Delaborde, *op. cit.*, No. L, bull of Alexander IV, 1255, confirming privileges of the Abbey which were among the archives that were lost at the time of the Saracenic occupation, 'miserabili casu deperdita'.

crypt and its entrance porch, survived; the Dominican Burchard of Mount Sion, who visited Jerusalem about a century later, found it very much as it is to-day, the crypt not much less below ground-level than it is now.¹ Deprived of their monastery, the community never returned to Jerusalem, even during the temporary reoccupation of the Holy Places between 1229 and 1244.

As a result of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the abbey acquired a church there,² and another at Thessalonica.³ Both in the East and in Sicily, its rights and possessions were repeatedly reaffirmed in bulls and charters; even its rights to those benefices in Palestine which in fact it no longer held, because they were in Moslem territory, were solemnly maintained, as in the case of other communities, in the hope that they might eventually be recovered. But in the disturbed conditions of the Crusader states during the second century of their existence, the community seems to have found it increasingly difficult to secure its just dues even within Crusader territory; its archives show that the popes intervened more than once to recover tithes or other property. Warned by the fall of Tripoli (1289), where the community may then have been established, and anxious about the neglect of its Sicilian possessions, which were all that now remained to it, the abbot finally obtained papal permission to transfer his community to its house at Messina.⁴ Hence, part at least of its archives escaped destruction at the sack of Acre in 1291, and, less depleted than the archives of most Crusader communities, they have fortunately survived until modern times as an exceptionally full series.⁵

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. XII, 'Burchard of Mount Sion', p. 72. He adds that the church was very damp and liable to be flooded right up the stairs in winter when the choked torrent of the Kidron rose.

² Delaborde, *op. cit.*, No. XLV.

³ Kohler, *op. cit.*, LXI, LXIII.

⁴ Delaborde, *op. cit.*, No. LIX, dated 1289. Cf. Kohler, *op. cit.*, No. LXXXVIII, instructions issued by the abbot after arrival at Messina, 1291.

⁵ What documents remained at the Abbey of St. Magdalen of Messina were consigned to the state archives at Palermo in 1879, about the same time as H.-F. Delaborde published his edition of them, already cited. Copies of the archives had previously been made, at some time towards the end of the 17th century, by the Sicilian antiquary, Antonino Amico, whose copies include a great many documents which have since disappeared. These missing items, almost as many as those published by Delaborde, were edited by C. Kohler, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VII (1899), *loc. cit.* A summary of the other sources referring to the abbey, combined with Delaborde's material, was published by R. Röhrich in his 'Syria Sacra' and 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens', *ZDPV*, X (1887), pp. 38-9, 212-21. To the list of abbots compiled by Röhrich in his 'Syria Sacra' should be added some new dates and names which appear in the charters published by Kohler; altogether the names of seventeen abbots are known, probably almost the complete succession of those who held office during the two centuries of the abbey's existence in the East.

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The Discoveries

The relation of the two trenches with each other and with the existing church is shown in the general plan, Fig. 2, p. 121; the details of masonry, &c., exposed in the two trenches, are illustrated more fully in Fig. 3, opposite p. 126. Taken as a whole the remains fall into two main divisions: firstly, at the south, a flagged pavement, extending from *B* to *C* and from *B* to *L*, with a return from *L* to *M*, and on the south and north the bordering strips of mosaic pavement, *ABLK* and *CD*; secondly, to the north of the pavement a series of rooms *DE*, *EF*, *FH*, running from east to west, parallel with that side of the pavement.

The whole length of the pavement was seen in the main trench (Pl. LVII); the south edge of it again in the subsidiary trench, which also crossed its southward return (Pl. LVIII, 2). In both portions, it was composed of large limestone flag-stones, dressed with the comb-pick, generally in the characteristic Crusader fashion, that is, worked diagonally from corner to corner in strokes closely parallel with the other diagonal. It was well laid, and graded slightly from north to south, that is, in the same direction as the fall of the valley. At the same time, by comparison of the levels of the two portions exposed at the south, it appears to have been graded slightly from east to west, that is, towards its presumed centre. Here it covered a built drain. The cover-stones of the drain were missing where the trench crossed it near *L* (cf. Pl. LVIII, 2), but their bedding of mortar remained. Probably they were removed in the construction of the later (Turkish?) sewer which ran just above it. Like the later sewer, this drain canalized the torrent of the valley, the former Brook Kidron.

This drain no doubt accounts for the return of the stone pavement from *L* to *M*; in case of necessity flag-stones would be easier to remove than mosaic. Elsewhere, between *L* and *B* and also at *C*, the central stone pavement was bordered by a mosaic pavement. At the south its width was uncertain. At *B* only a little of it remained, immediately against the flag-stones (cf. Pl. LVII); originally it may have run as far south as the wall at *A*, the bottom course of which was found, together with a plastered drain which must have run between the edge of the mosaic and the wall. The opposite portion between *L* and *K* was certainly wider; as its south edge was broken off, it may possibly have been as deep as the intact portion exposed at the north side of the stone pavement between *C* and *D*. In each instance the composition of the mosaic was similar; large tesserae, mostly white, but also red and black, rather clumsily laid, were interspersed with irregular flooring stones of the kind commonly

used in the humbler buildings of old Jerusalem. In one instance at least, the intact portion *CD*, these slabs were laid to straight lines running along and across the axis of the stone paving, rather like stepping-stones. (Similar mosaic paving may still be seen in the north arm of the crypt; see below, pp. 130-1.) In all three instances, the mosaic paving was so much alike that it seems very probable that it formed a continuous strip interrupted only where it met the line of the stone-covered drain, as at *LK*, and perhaps at the corresponding intersection on the prolongation of the same line towards the north. Apart from these two breaks, it is conceivable that the mosaic strip surrounded all four sides of a rectangular stone pavement, or courtyard.

To the north of this no definite floor level was found between *D* and *F*; there was a conglomerate of lime and earth, which may possibly have represented a rough concrete floor, or the bedding of a pavement; but in the confined space of the trench it was hardly possible to ascertain which. At *E* it was crossed by a drain consisting of earthenware pipes of the usual local type (Fig. 4), built into rubble-concrete which appeared to belong to the infilling of a cross-wall. The drain was graded to flow eastwards. Cistern-pipes are not infrequently concealed inside walls in this way.



Between *F* and *H* another mosaic floor appeared similar in position to that which bordered the north and south sides of the flagged pavement, *BC*, and laid at almost the same level. It was broken off just beyond the rubble core of another cross-wall, *F*, but it could be traced to a definite edge at *H*, where stones of the bottom course of a corresponding cross-wall remained embedded in either side of the trench (Pl. LVIII, 1; cf. Pl. LIX, 1). The faces of both these stones were rendered with lime-plaster and painted in fresco, predominantly in dull, wine-coloured red on a ground of pale egg-shell green (Pl. LVIII, 3, 4); pieces of another such stone, and small fragments of similar fresco in the same colours, or, in rare instances, yellow, brown, or black, were found on the floor in front. Midway between this wall, *H*, and the infilling of the opposite wall, *F*, stood the pier-base, *G* (Pl. LIX, 1, and Fig. 5, p. 127). Hence it would appear that, north of the flagged pavement and its mosaic border, there lay three parallel and adjacent rooms of the widths, *DE*, *EF*, and *FH*. No such remains were found immediately beyond *H*, only some secondary building, founded at a slightly higher level, which extended on either side of the pier-base, and returned east about 12 metres to the north of it (Figs. 2, 3, 7).

Beyond this, although the trench was continued at a uniform level, it intersected no ancient remains until some 60 metres farther north. There it cut

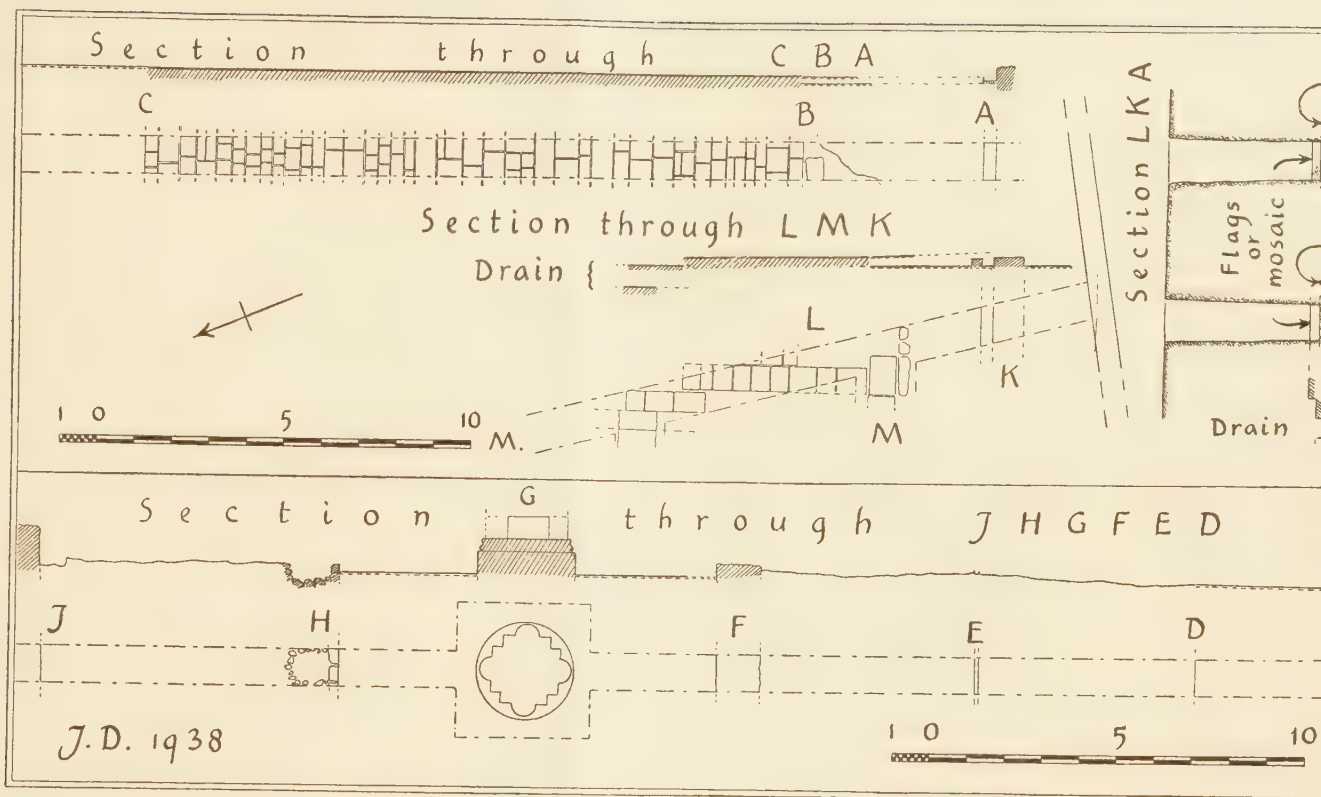


FIG. 3

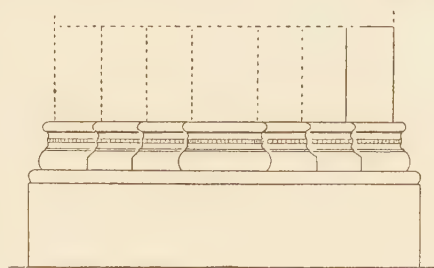
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a solidly built wall, some two metres in thickness, built of large rubble in courses 35 to 50 cm. in height. Both faces had remains of lime-plaster. Some 14 metres farther north, the trench cut through another wall of similar but slighter construction, only about 60 cm. thick. No more than four courses of either wall remained. Between the two there extended a concrete floor of mixed lime and ash, the northern half of which still had a well-rendered surface. About the middle of the exposed part of the floor there was a rectangular depression, measuring 130 by 70 cm., that appeared to mark the emplacement of some heavy structure, perhaps a piece of machinery connected with a press.

The filling extracted from the trench between *A* and *H* consisted mostly of brown earth containing roots, showing that this part of the valley must have been cultivated or planted for many years past as it is to-day. A sequence of pottery, glass, and coins obtained in widening the contractor's trench on either side of the pier-base *G* pointed to the gradual accumulation of soil there, chiefly in Turkish times, and probably because of the ruin of old field terracing. A slight proportion of slip-ware, typical of the opening of the

Turkish period, occurred as low down as the layer next above the remains of secondary building founded quite close to the mosaic floor, together with predominantly Ayyubid and Mamluke types. Hence it seems that little accumulation can have taken place there before the end of Mamluke times in the sixteenth century, the secondary buildings having remained in use until then, or having lately fallen into ruin. Almost all this stratified material was naturally deposited by the winter floods. But two very small fragments of coloured glass, blue and purple respectively, which were picked from the mosaic floor itself may be noted as specimens of the kind of glass probably used for glazing the windows of the original building.¹

¹ It resembles the 13th-century window-glass found in the debris of the 'Unfinished Church' in



5 0 1 2 M.

FIG. 5.

Among the few architectural details recovered from the filling of the trench there was a corner capital of soft limestone (Fig. 6, *a*, elevation slightly restored, cf. Pl. LX, 1), which probably came from a recessed doorway, together with part of a corresponding base of similar stone (Fig. 6, *b*).

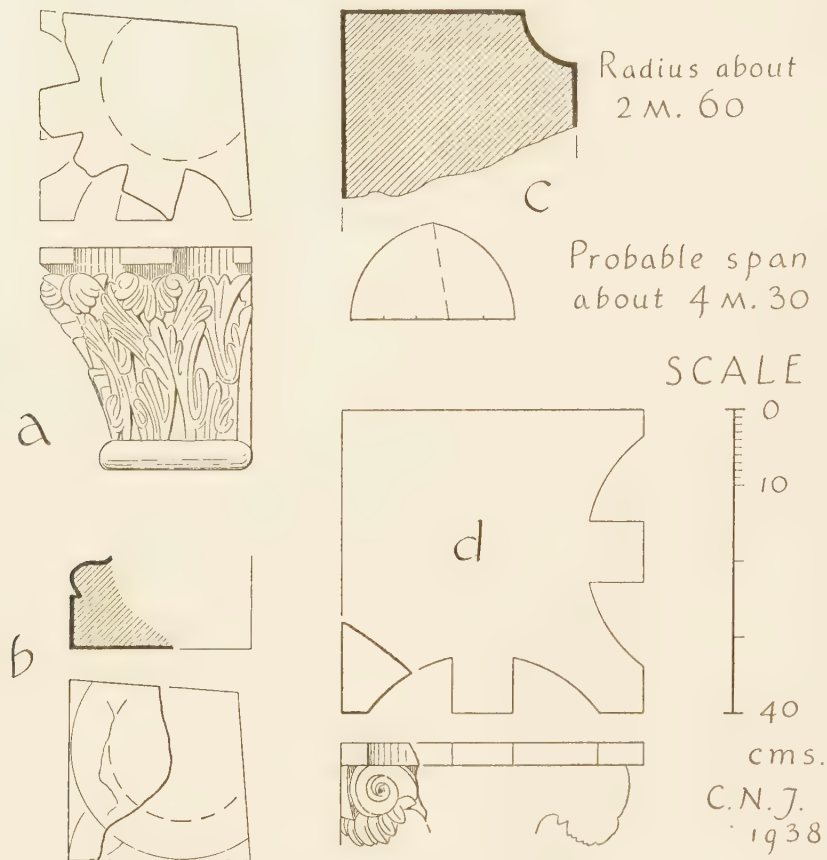


FIG. 6.

Though both pieces occurred near the pier-base G, no trace of any such doorway appeared in that part of the trench. But from the same part of it came two pieces of another order, in all probability that belonging to the vaulting system supported by the pier G, viz. a broken voussoir with a cavetto moulding on its remaining lower edge (Fig. 6, *c*), presumably belonging to the side member of one of the compound transverse arches; and the volute of a wall capital of polished white marble (Fig. 6, *d*, and Pl. LX, 2) presumably the suburb of Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit, see *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. IV, p. 133.

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from one of the wall or corner responds. (The same kind of marble, not of local origin, is to be seen in the capitals and imposts of the doorway of the Crusader porch leading to the crypt). The remains of secondary building between *F* and *H* may incorporate other material from the original building. But, on the whole, the original masonry would seem to have been very thoroughly pillaged, practically down to floor-level.

Remains of an older building were encountered at the extreme south end of either trench, principally portions of mosaic floors. Where the upper mosaic had been broken between *A* and *B*, a small patch of white mosaic pavement was found at a depth of 20 cm., and when the last few metres of the upper mosaic pavement were removed between *M* and *K* two similar floors were found at about the same depth, on either side of a buried cross-wall at *K*. This cross-wall coincides in plan with the similar wall which must have bounded the south side of the upper pavement farther east, at *A*; and against its north side, at *K*, a drain had been built which evidently continued the drain already noticed at *A*, falling below the level of the upper pavement to join the main drain under the courtyard which passed by *L*. In contrast with the upper mosaic pavement, these buried mosaic floors were entirely composed of well-laid white tesserae of uniform size, laid diagonally in the body of the floor and bordered, in the case of the floor which touched the north side of the cross-wall at *K*, by a double line of similar tesserae laid along the wall face.

In contrast with these lower floors, the upper pavement seemed a clumsy piece of work; but the size and material of the tesserae it contained so closely resembled that of those still *in situ* in the lower floors that there was little doubt that the builders of the upper pavement must have utilized the tesserae of floors like the lower in laying their own composite pavement. In that case, they must have drawn their material from a series of floors of considerable extent, to judge from the quantity so utilized, not only at *AB*, *CD*, and *LK*, &c., but also, it seems, round the whole border of a large courtyard of the depth *BC*. Similarly, in laying the stone pavement, they had in one instance utilized an inscribed tombstone of earlier date. It was a large, roughly hewn slab of hard limestone which fitted incongruously with the well-laid pavement, and actually overlapped the junction between it and the adjacent mosaic at *M* (Pls. LVIII, 2 and LIX, 2, 3). When lifted, it was found to rest almost directly on part of the intact lower mosaic floor. Clearly not *in situ*, it seemed to have been placed there for the sake of preservation. Its inscription reads:

✠ΘΗΚΗΚΑΙ
ΟΥΚΑΙ
ΑΔΙΟΥ✠

'Tomb of Kasios and Adios'. Below there is a larger incised cross, and to the right, close to the edge of the slab, a small palm-branch (cf. Pl. LIX, 2, 3).¹ Both names, Kasios and Adios, were common in Roman Syria, the former in its Latin as well as its Greek form, the latter in Nabatean and Syriac forms as well as Greek.

Parallels and Conclusions

The probable date of this displaced tombstone agrees with that of the lower mosaic floors. They must relate to some building of the late Byzantine period. The tombstone itself may be dated with some probability to the sixth century A.D. It may be compared in style with the inscribed tombstone of Amos, deacon of the Probatike, recently found just outside the east gate of the city, Bāb el Asbāṭ, or St. Stephen's Gate, not far distant;² or with those found in the ruins of the Crusader church of the Saviour, within the Franciscan Garden of Gethsemane, very close to the present excavations.³

From the sixth century A.D. at least, the Kidron Valley was a popular hermitage. Known as the Valley of Jehoshaphat and regarded as the scene of the Last Judgement, it continued to be the retreat and resting-place of anchorites right down to Crusader times.⁴ In Byzantine times there were important churches both at the Tomb of the Virgin⁵ and at Gethsemane.⁵ It is probable, therefore, that numerous monastic cells were built in the neighbourhood of these two churches, even if no monastery existed. The lower mosaic floors and the displaced tombstone found in the present excavations close to the site of the Byzantine church of St. Mary presumably relate to such cells, if not to a monastery of the period. That such a monastery did in fact exist seems the more probable if the abundant re-use of Byzantine material is taken into account, not only here, but at the neighbouring Crusader church which replaced the Byzantine church of the Agony at Gethsemane. There the floor of the Crusader church was of the same mixed composition as the pavement exposed by the present excavations near St. Mary's,⁶ or as the floor which is still visible in the closed north arm of the crypt of the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin.

Whatever the significance of these disconnected remains of the Byzantine period may be, there can be no question that the upper mosaic floor, and the

¹ Now at the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

² *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, VI, p. 155.

³ Orfali, *Gethsémani*, p. 6.

⁴ Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Chap. XXXIII, especially pp. 849 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 808 ff. and pp. 1007 ff., respectively, also Orfali, *op. cit.*, Chap. II for the latter.

⁶ Cf. Orfali, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and Pls. XV, XIX, XX, XXII.

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY

buildings associated with it, should be dated to the Crusader occupation of the twelfth century. Quite apart from the resemblance of the mosaic with that which formed the floor of the neighbouring Crusader church at Gethsemane, both the characteristic dressing of the flag-stones already referred to (p. 125) and the style of the pier G (p. 127) confirm that date. The pier in particular has one notable feature that attests French workmanship; according to the practice of masons in Picardy and the Ile-de-France, where also soft, chalky limestone abounded, the filling of the scotia has been largely reserved as a fillet.¹ The details of masonry found in the debris of the building, such as the wall capital and other fragments found in the neighbourhood of the pier (Fig. 6; Pl. I.X, 1, 2), are equally typical of Crusader buildings of that period. So is the fresco which decorated the room containing the pier (Pl. LVIII, 3, 4).²

From their common level and axis it is clear that these pavements all belonged to a single group of buildings. Moreover, from the close correspondence of that level to the level of the Crusader porch of the adjacent church, it is evident that these buildings could readily have been connected with the church via the courtyard in front of it. Further, since that level is also the roof-level of the crypt, they could equally well have been connected with an upper church built on top of the crypt. Finally, since their axis is identical with that of the older, Byzantine crypt of the church, as well as with that of the secondary, Crusader porch, it is obvious that, like the porch, they were built to conform to the existing Byzantine crypt. In all these respects, as well as in style, the newly discovered remains undoubtedly represent the twelfth-century abbey of St. Mary, situated, as John of Würzburg says it was, *supra rivum torrentis Cedron* (see above, p. 122).

But if these discoveries have disclosed the general situation of the abbey, its extent and plan remain somewhat conjectural. Certainly it cannot have extended much farther south than the present excavations, which stopped at the boundary wall of the olive grove along the Jericho road. Then, as to-day, the roadway must have formed the boundary on that side. The road then descended from the east side of the city by a rock-cut stairway, which is alluded to in the ninth-century *Commemoratorium de casis Dei*;³ and the rock-cut steps, still visible just in front of the Greek Orthodox shrine of St. Stephen to the south-west of the olive grove, show that the modern road crosses the

¹ See Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie française*, I, *Architecture Religieuse*, II, p. 604, citing thirteenth-century examples from the cathedrals of Amiens and Beauvais, and also the porch of the cathedral of Nicosia in Cyprus, see the same author's *L'Art Gothique en Chypre*, pp. 126, 714.

² See Vincent and Abel, *Emmâus*, pp. 59-60.

³ Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 83, quoted by Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, p. 819.

valley on much the same line (cf. Fig. 1, p. 118). Taking this line as the southern boundary of the abbey, it appears that its principal extension was to the north of this, and to the west of the present church, chiefly within the area of the level olive grove which lies immediately opposite the church and its forecourt, with perhaps part of the olive grove north of that. Within this area there must have been contained the indispensable divisions of every monastery: the outer court or close (*curia*), and, within it, the cloister, surrounded by its adjacent buildings, the chapter-house, refectory, dormer, &c., and the conventual church.

Owing to the peculiar nature of the site, the disposition of these divisions and subdivisions can hardly have been typical. But whether the monks used the crypt for their offices, as they must certainly have done to begin with, or whether they subsequently used an upper church such as late twelfth-century accounts would suggest (see above, p. 122), they would in any case have built their cloister as close to their church as possible. It would not be accessible to the public, as the forecourt in front of the porch was, but at the same time it would be easily accessible from the church, in order that the monks could pass from their daily tasks or dormitory to their services in the church, and in order that their Sunday procession could enter it from the church, perambulate its various departments, and return to the church.

The paved courtyard, crossed by the main trench between *A* and *B*, seems to fulfil these conditions. Separated from the public forecourt to the porch by a wall running probably on much the same line as the present retaining wall parallel with the west side of the porch, it may be imagined as shown in Fig. 7, a square enclosure extending equally on either side of the drain found at *L*, and surrounded by a mosaic-paved walk, which was probably roofed for part of its width, though no indication of the method of roofing has been encountered. The stairs connecting it with the crypt, which are mentioned by Theodoric (see above, p. 123), may have started from one of three possible doorways opening off the crypt (cf. Fig. 2): viz. the archway belonging to the original Byzantine building in the west side of the north arm; the secondary opening in the apse of the west arm; or the corridor inside the west wall of the south arm at the bottom of the Crusader stairway. All three openings are now blocked; in no case is the masonry used for blocking them of Crusader character; with equal probability it may be earlier or later. One of the three, the secondary opening in the western apse, which clearly cut through the Byzantine work, may possibly have been made in Crusader times, but it would hardly make so convenient an approach to the presumed cloister as the passage to the south. The latter, which is now used as a sacristy by the

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY

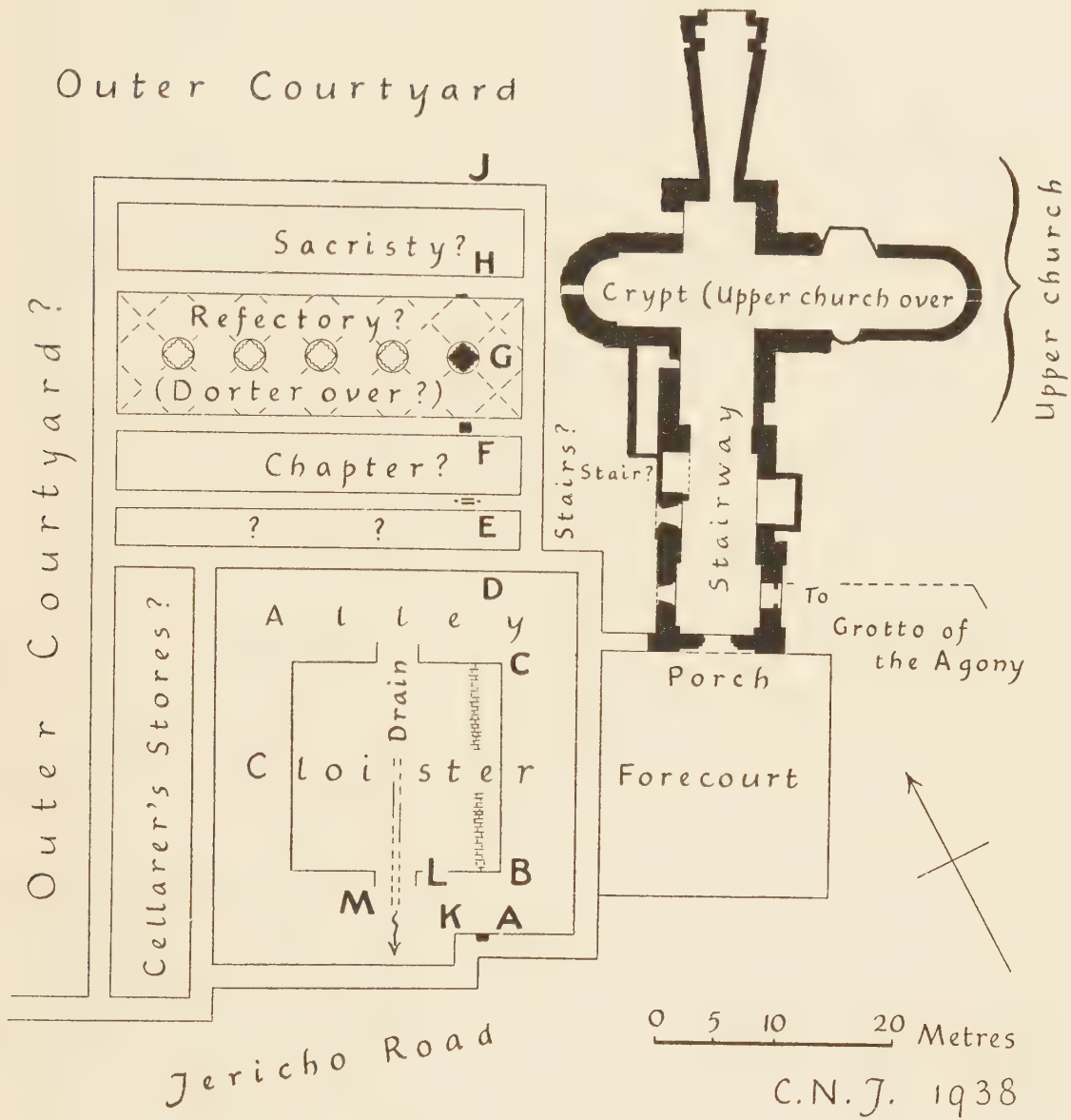


FIG. 7. Conjectural restoration of the plan of the Abbey

Armenians, whose altar stands in the west arm of the crypt, could have contained the Syrian altar mentioned by Theodoric. The closest to the cloister of the three openings, it would still have been separated from it by an interval sufficient to allow of the construction of a staircase ascending from the lower level to that of the cloister on the one hand and the upper church on the other; and, as a glance at the reconstruction of the rest of the monastic buildings in Fig. 7 will show, it would seem to conform best with their disposition also.

Assuming that the paved courtyard, traversed by the trenches at *A B C D* and *K L*, represents the cloister; that it was enclosed on the east by a wall separating it from the forecourt to the porch, and on the south by the outer wall of the monastery fronting the Jericho road, then the only possible place for the conventual buildings usually surrounding the cloister was on the north and west sides of the courtyard. At the north, the main trench in fact traversed three ranges of adjacent and parallel buildings, *DE*, *EF*, *FH*. It may be assumed that the two nearer the crypt, *DE* and *EF*, had barrel-vaults; while the third, *FH*, evidently had a groined vault, supported on one or more cruciform piers like *G* (Fig. 5, p. 127). Its circular base might suggest that it stood at the centre of a chapter-house of circular or polygonal form; but the fact that the painted plaster covering the inside of the wall at the north reached to the floor, and could hardly have been covered by a stone bench, goes to show that this was not the chapter-house but rather part of a long gallery with a row of piers down the middle. Like the adjacent vaults between it and the cloister, it probably extended the whole length of the north side of the cloister, presumably reaching the west of the upper church on the one hand, and any adjacent buildings opening off the west side of the cloister on the other. If so, its size and its painted decoration would suggest that it was the refectory.¹

Only by a complete excavation would it be possible to identify the purpose of the other buildings on this side of the cloister, and the position and use of any which may have existed on the other side, the west side of the cloister. It is fairly certain, however, that the buildings connected with the church as well as the cloister, viz. the sacristy and chapter-house, must have occupied portions of the several ranges of building on the north, possibly as shown in Fig. 7; and, in so important a monastery, it seems hardly likely that room could have been found for the other buildings directly connected with the cloister, viz. dormitory, parlour, common-house, treasury, cellarer's building, and perhaps infirmary, without the occupation of the west side also, and probably not without the addition of a first story. That an upper story existed on the

¹ See Lenoir, *Architecture monastique*, II^e et III^e partie, pp. 33–5, for similarly elongated plans.

north at least seems very probable from the massiveness of the pier used to vault so relatively narrow a room as *FH*. From its proximity to the church, that upper floor may well have been occupied by the dormitory. The other rooms must have been distributed through this and the adjoining range, the cellarer's stores, and probably the infirmary also, being directly accessible from the outer courtyard, or close.

Such a courtyard would doubtless have been contained within the fortified enclosing wall mentioned by Theodoric (see above, p. 123). In addition to the monks' infirmary, the kitchen, and the other domestic offices adjacent to the claustral block, it would have included the public guest-house; the abbots' lodging, if there were one; and probably the almonry, and also the alms-house, or *hospitalis*, often referred to in the charters of the abbey since, although it was usual to place those buildings just outside the enclosing wall of a monastery, it is hardly likely that they were left unprotected in this case. The enclosing wall of such a courtyard normally formed the outer wall of the whole monastery on two, three, or even four sides, and somewhere within its circuit was placed the gateway, the only public entrance to the monastery.

To judge from the lie of the land now covered by olive-groves to the west, north, and east of the existing church, the outer enclosure or close of this abbey can have extended any distance only towards the north (cf. Fig. 1, p. 118). Eastward of the church the side of the valley begins to rise steeply not far beyond the 'Grotto of the Agony'. Westward, the level surface of the olive grove in which the principal remains of the abbey have been found now extends little farther than the area required for the block of buildings that are reconstructed in Fig. 7; not far beyond this the side of the valley rises as steeply as on the east. On the north of this olive grove, however, there is another, terraced only a little higher, where, in the continuation of the contractor's trench, a stout cross-wall, running roughly east to west, was found some 67 metres north of *H* (Fig. 7), with the ruins of what may have been an outhouse containing an oil- or wine-press built against its north face (see p. 126, above). Was this stout wall the northern boundary wall of the outer enclosure or courtyard of the abbey? If it covered the north side of the claustral block and church combined it would have enclosed an area not less than those buildings occupied. Moreover, since the fields and vineyards throughout the valley were owned and cultivated by the abbey,¹ farm buildings such as this press could have been erected against it.

Assuming that the thicker wall to the south of the press was in fact the northern boundary wall of the outer courtyard, it may be imagined as crossing

¹ Delaborde, *op. cit.*, Nos. VI, XVIII.

the valley in a straight line, east and west, mounting either slope and returning on a higher contour to enclose the 'Grotto of the Agony' and the corresponding part of the opposite slope, so joining the southern wall. The latter no doubt fronted the Jericho road, possibly with a series of offsets like those shown in Fig. 7 to adapt the axis of the conventual buildings to that of the road, and it presumably extended on either side of the claustral block and adjacent forecourt of the crypt so as to meet the western and eastern boundary walls. Between its south-west corner and the claustral block there would then have been room for the public gateway of the abbey, opening on to the Jericho road nearly opposite the present Greek Orthodox Shrine of St. Stephen. So conceived, the abbey buildings would have formed a compact block, readily defensible on all sides and centrally placed among the gardens and plantations which the charters describe as surrounding it on the east and west, and south and north.

C. N. JOHNS.



General view of main trench looking north from near south end (cf. Figs. 2 and 3, *A-B*, &c., pp. 121 and 125 ff.)

ABBEY OF ST. MARY IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT



1. Mosaic pavement to north of pier-base (Figs. 2 and 3, *G* ; Pl. LIX, 1), showing bottom course of wall (*H*) *in situ* below rod (p. 126)



2. Return of flagged pavement with main drain (Figs. 2 and 3, *L*) marked by rod; mosaic pavement beyond with part of tomb-stone (*K*) protruding from junction with pavement, marked by arrow (pp. 125, 129)



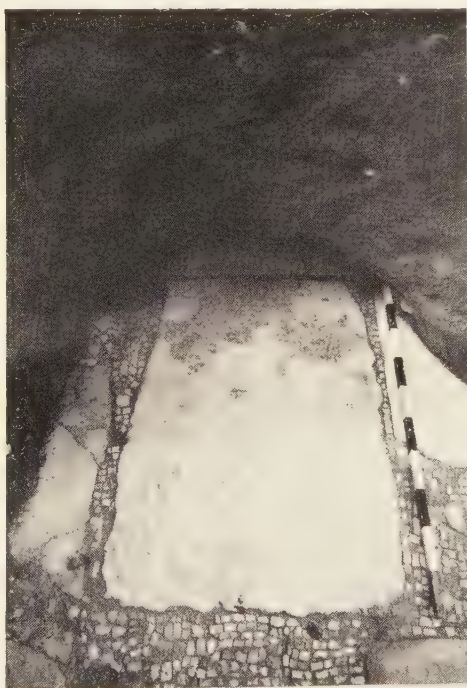
3. Stone found in front of cross-wall of Fig. 1, rendered with white plaster and painted in fresco



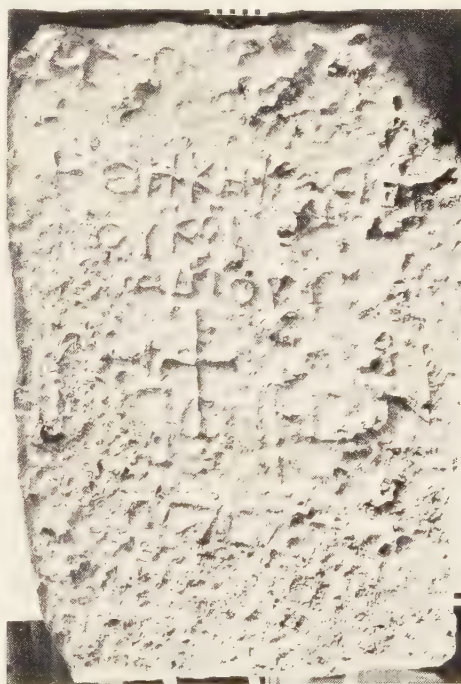
4. Another stone from the same place, similarly painted



1. Pier-base of soft limestone (Fig. 2, *G*) looking north. The fillet is decorated with wedge-shaped cuts (pp. 126, 131). Remains of secondary building on mosaic floor in front (p. 127)



2. Byzantine tomb-stone in mosaic floor (Figs. 2 and 3, *M*)



3. The same after removal (see p. 129)



1. Engaged capital of soft limestone (p. 128)

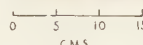
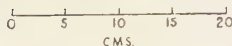


2. Fragment of capital, white marble (p. 128)

Details kept in crypt



3. Engaged capital with abacus still cemented to it



4. Abaci of the same dimensions for similar capitals (see p. 120)

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. V¹

THENCE we went to the village of *Nāqūra*, and thence to *Deir Shar[af]*, fo. 89^r and from there to the village of *Beiṭila* (= *Beit Ība*): so many prosperous, l. 7 inhabited villages did we pass within seven hours [since we left] the fortress of *Jiṇn*.²

DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTIFIED ANCIENT TOWN OF NĀBLUS³

This is a Samaritan⁴ *ṣanjāq* in the Province of Damascus.

The annual fixed sum for the post of governor therein has been set aside by the Sultān to be 29,645 *aqshe* a year. The *ṣanjāq* has seven *za'āmet* and forty-four *tīmār* fiefs.

[The revenue of] this *ṣanjāq* is granted to the commander of the caravans of Pilgrims to Mecca in Damascus. The *tīmār* holders are ordered to accom- fo. 89^r pany him with the inhabitants of their districts (*jenbelüler*) to the honoured l. 10 [town of] Mecca. The district commandants of Nāblus and Jerusalem [*mīr-i leva*] may be appointed to be commanders of the caravan of pilgrims [*emīru-l-ḥajj*] and have (under their orders) a convoy of five hundred men ready to travel to Mecca.

The pasha receives a yearly income of seventeen thousand piasters; the noble office of the *qāḍī* (is endowed with) one hundred and fifty *aqtshe* (a year). There are two hundred villages in this district,⁵ and a yearly revenue of six thousand piasters accrues to the judge.

The town is Samaritan. Its fortress is situated on a hill. The Children of Israel built it, because of the victory of Nebuchadnezzar. Then in the

¹ Continued from Vol. VI, p. 97.

² Jiṇn is no more fortified. Under Mamluke administration it was an important post station. Hartmann, 'Die Strasse von Damaskus nach Kairo' in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. LXIV, p. 689, quotes relevant texts from the works of el-'Umarī, Khalil ez-Zāhirī and el-Qalqashandī. Cf. also *QDAP*, VI, p. 86.

³ Nāblus is spelt throughout with a long vowel (thus following the Aramaic spelling of the name (Nāblūs). Cf. R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, fasc. vii, col. 2258. According to William of Tyre (chap. xiv, 27) it was under the Crusaders an unfortified town. It was sacked by the Saracens in 1154 and 1187, and largely destroyed by earthquakes in 1837 and 1927.

⁴ This is in agreement with the *Chronicle of Joshua* and other Samaritan works. Yet the present-day inhabitants of many former Samaritan villages would resent being considered of Samaritan origin.

⁵ Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Halil ez-Zāhirī's zubdat kaṣf al-mamālik* (Kirchhain, 1907), p. 55, quotes the following: 'Die Stadt Nābulus ist eine schöne Stadt. Es ist dort eine Burg, die aber zerstört wurde. Sie hat ein Gebiet, das 300 Ortschaften umfasst. Sie gehört ebenfalls zum Distrikt von Damaskus.'

year¹ . . . the abominable Franks² governed it for seventy years and took hold of the country.

Again in the year¹ . . . Saladin, minister of the 'martyr' Nureddin, came, besieged it, and took possession of it.³ Yet, as he had encountered many difficulties during the siege, he destroyed its fortress.⁴ Its ruins are still visible on Mount Ebal.⁵

fo. 89^r A Janissary colonel and a captain are stationed here. There are also notables
l. 15 and the representative of the *naqību-l-ashrāf* (Registrar of the descendants of the Prophet).⁶ But the mufti resides in Jerusalem.⁷

It is a beautiful town situated in a spacious valley between two mountains, stretching from east to west, and consisting of eighteen quarters⁸ and four thousand and sixty masonry built houses, including a lofty government house and other buildings. There are no houses whatever constructed of timber in this city. It has irrigated gardens. The fortress-like houses are well built and plastered. All of them serve as mosques.⁹ The high people gather, among other places, on Fridays in the large mosque,¹⁰ situated in the Sultan's Bazaar.¹¹ Formerly it was a church. Yet Saladin converted it into a mosque.

fo. 89^r The present prayer niche was the entrance at the time of the infidels, situated
l. 20 on the east side of it. On both sides of the entrance are eight well-proportioned, slender marble columns, supporting its arch—a marvellous piece of masonry. The length of this mosque is three hundred paces from one end to the other,

¹ No year mentioned or space provided for it in the manuscript.

² Usāma b. Munqid in his memoirs (ed. P. K. Hitti), *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior* (New York, 1929, Columbia Univ. Press), pp. 164 ff., relates some amusing incidents from the daily life of the Franks in Nāblus.

³ Saladin took the town in A.H. 583 (A.D. 1187) after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn. Cf. Shihābu-d-Dīn, *Kitābu-r-rauḍatain* (ed. Cairo, A.H. 1286), II, p. 87, where it mentions only the occupation of Nāblus.

⁴ More probably this fortress on Mount Gerizim was destroyed by the emperor Zeno about 474. He built a church there and fortified it. The fortress on Mount Gerizim measures 230 ft. east and west and 180 ft. north and south (*Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 189). The exterior wall was built by Justinian after 529. The site is known as *el-Qal'a*.

⁵ The *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, 186, mentions a large building of stones built up without mortar, on Mount Ebal (*Jebel Islāmiyye*), known also as *el-Qal'a* and measuring 92 ft. square externally, with walls 20 ft. thick.

⁶ Several families of Nāblus, such as Tuffāḥa and Bīṭār, claim descent from the Prophet.

⁷ Twenty years later in 1691 Nābulusī visited the town and mentioned a mufti of the Ḥanbalite School. See his work *el-ḥaḍratu-l-unsīyya fi-r-riḥlati-l-quḍsiyya* (manuscript in the Khālidiyya Library, Jerusalem).

⁸ The *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 203, enumerates only seven quarters.

⁹ See also *QDAP*, IV, 1935, p. 158.

¹⁰ This mosque is the present-day *ḡāmi'u-l-kabīr*. *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 203.

¹¹ 'Abdu-l-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, *op. cit.*, mentions that this large mosque was situated in a quarter of the town known as *Bimāristān* (Hospital).

its width is one hundred paces. The aisles are narrow. If they were wide, the mosque would have had the dimensions of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus. There are altogether fifty-five rose-hued columns in it, with some square pillars here and there, to sustain the arches of the ancient masonry of the mosque. The prayer niche is very spacious and holds twenty persons. The pulpit is of ancient make. Yet the inner court is in no way proportional with the mosque, being exceedingly small, standing as it does in a narrow valley.

Around the mosque are vaulted bazaars and the public road. At the entrance to the courtyard is a square, tower-like well-proportioned minaret.¹ The mosque and its open prayer place is a shrine.

The Jāmi' en-Naṣr (Mosque of the Victory) was formerly a large monastery.² The garnet-coloured monoliths within are nowhere else met with. fo. 89^r
l. 25

The Mosque of el-Khaḍr is a square building measuring eighty seven paces each side.³

There are other mosques besides these, as well as seven Qur'ān schools, seven Dervish monasteries (*zāwiya*), seven elementary boys' schools and two public baths. The 'Sultan's Bazaar', with stone-built gates at each end (closed daily at nightfall) measures twelve hundred paces between them and consists of three hundred and seventy shops on each side, all well arranged. Although it has no brocade mart, yet everything can be had there. In the centre of the market are one hundred shops on both sides of a vaulted passage. To the left stands a fortress-like huge caravanserai with one hundred and fifty contiguous hearths. In the very centre rises a mosque with a lead roof.⁴

The buildings of this market as well as all the pious foundations belong to Qoja Muṣṭafa Pasha.⁵ They are indeed considerable. With the exception of this mosque in the caravanserai there is no other lead-covered building in the city. fo. 89^r
l. 30

This most lovely town is situated between two mountains, which embrace it. It has an excellent climate. Boys and girls abound. Should you ask any

¹ This tower is probably of Crusader construction. *SWP*. II, p. 203, quotes a Samaritan tradition according to which it once belonged to one of their synagogues, as it has a Samaritan inscription. It stands close by the Mosque of el-Khaḍr, itself formerly a Christian chapel, but nowadays known under the name of Jāmi' Hizn Ya'qūb.

² It cannot be ascertained what Christian monastery stood in its place. It has now been rebuilt (1937) and little remains of its former plan, as it suffered much from the earthquake in 1927.

³ This was 'originally a chapel, traditionally the site of Jacob's mourning, when the coat of Joseph was brought to him'. *SWP*. II, p. 203.

⁴ Probably the present-day *Khān et-Tujjār*, towards the middle of the main northern street.

⁵ I am unable to state whether this Qoja Muṣṭafa Pasha (not mentioned in Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reichs*), is the same as Lalé Muṣṭafa Pasha.

one about his person or ancestors he will trace his pedigree back to some prophet.¹ Yet its inhabitants are rather curious people. They are poor. The men wear a brownish overcoat ('*abāye*) or the like and wrap their heads with a white muslin turban. Their woman-folk, too, envelop themselves in a white sheet.

The town is surrounded by mountains with vineyards and orchards embellished by lemon, orange (*turunj*), pomegranate, olive, and fig trees as well as date palms.

All Government Offices and other (large) houses boast a water-mill, flowing
fo. 89^r water, ponds, and fountains with pure, limpid water. The market abounds
l. 35 with merchandise.

THE SHRINES OF NĀBLUS

Firstly (comes the shrine of) the servant of Allah, Samson.² He was not a prophet, but he called the people to follow the religion of Jesus, as St. George, Jonas, and Samson lived during the period between St. John the Baptist and Jesus. Yet it is stated that Samson was a prophet. His plastered shrine is situated amidst orchards north of the town. He is said to have been buried there and it is visited.

Also to the north of the town, beside a paradise-like orchard, is the shrine of the Children of Isaac and of those of Ēsau.³ There is a huge cave on the mountain slope, wherein twelve noble corpses are lying at rest without ever
fo. 89^r having been buried, as there is no dust (covering them). Some are in the
l. 40 posture of sitting, others in that of praying, and others again are prostrating themselves—all in a state of tranquillity. According to the Chronicles they are prophets, who received divine revelations and recorded them. The keepers of the mausoleum do not suffer any one to approach them, as their shrouds

¹ A number of Moslem families in Nāblus are known to have been converted to Islam as recently as two generations ago, the foremost of whom are the Darwaza.

² Samson, *Abu-l-Āzāyim*, *Abu-l-Azm* (the man of the miraculous feats), may have been connected with the sanctuary of the 'Men of the Pillar' (*Rijāl el-Āmūd*) for the deeds he performed in Gaza (Judges xvi. 3). He is venerated in Šar'a, where his shrine occupies the crest of the hills above 'Arṭūf.

The only shrine east of the town with this one is that of *Rijāl el-Āmūd* (perhaps originally in the singular: *rijjāl*), signifying a 'pillar-saint'. Nābulusī's account (1690) runs as follows: 'through the cemetery of that region we entered a huge burial ground, containing several tombs. . . . There is a cave . . . with a column, from which the site derived its name. . . .'

³ The present-day *Ĵāmi' Aulād Ya'qūb el-Ashara*(?); Nābulusī visited it inside the city. 'We entered a beautiful mosque, containing a high cenotaph. Underneath is a cave. It is believed that the Children of Jacob lie buried there. . . .'

It is situated in the north-eastern corner of the town and was already in Christian times believed to be the site mentioned in Acts vii. 16 ('Journey of Sta Paula', *Patrol. Latīn.* XXII, c. 889).

are threadbare and mouldering (away). Some women with uncovered hands were also forbidden to enter into their presence. Prayers are therefore offered at the entrance to the cave. The humble writer, acquiescing in this procedure, prayed outside, too, asking for their intercession.

Beyond the cave, in a fairy-like orchard, rises on a rock a high dome over the shrine of Esau, son of Isaac (may peace be on both of them!). It is quite certain that Esau received divine revelations. His age was...¹ The Byzantines (*rūm*) are from his issue. It is no matter of marvel that the Jews visit this shrine, because it is mentioned in their chronicles. They visit also that one of the children of Isaac.

Near by is the shrine (maqām) of Yūsha'.²

fo. 89^r

To the east of the town is the Shrine of the Gate of Paradise³ (*Jennet* ^{l. 45} *gapusu*). Mu'āwiya, coming in his life-time with several thousands (of men) to this town, three thousand of the Companions of the Prophet (amongst them) died here as martyrs, by Allah's decree. The bodies of them rest within this cave. Some of them are soft and fresh, of others only the skin and the bones are left, while the bodies of still others are mere skeletons. Once a boy, running away from his father, entered this cave and asked unwittingly for succour. He was struck with blindness and left it. The gate to this cave is ever since closed.

Then comes the Well of Jacob,⁴ where he used to stay before his blindness. ^{fo. 89^v} By his own holy hands he had dug up this well with life-giving water. The ^{l. 1} taste of it still resembles that of the (water of the) Well Zamzam (in Mecca). All inhabitants, the governor, pious people, and whosoever is afflicted by different diseases drink from it (for a period of) forty or fifty days and (the latter) recover by Allah's decree.

¹ No year mentioned or space provided for it in manuscript.

² Evliya confuses Hoshea (Yūsha') with Joshua (Yashū', Ishwa'). The former has a shrine in es-Salt (en-Nebī Ōsha'). The traditional site of the tombs of Joshua (Nebī Nūn) and Caleb (Nebī Kifl) is shown at Kafr Hāris, a tradition also upheld by the Samaritans. See *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 285.

³ The nearest 'shrine' at present is the traditional Tomb of Joseph, outside Balāṭa. But there is no source in its immediate neighbourhood.

⁴ See *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, pp. 172-8. It is known to all under this name, though Christians of Nāblus may still call it *Bir es-Sāmiriyye*, according to St. John iv. It is not a spring. In 1922 I noticed that the water was scarce. It is the property of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. A church was started there before the War but had to be left unfinished owing to the hostile attitude of the people of Nāblus.

The *Quarterly Statement* for 1893, 1894, 1900, 1903, and 1908 contains articles and plans about the well and the church. Cf. also *Revue biblique*, 1893, pp. 242-3 (plan).

R. P. Donatus Baldi, O.F.M., *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum*, Jerusalem, 1935, has collected a good number of passages relating to the 'Well of Jacob' from pilgrims' texts (pp. 273-86).

Near this place is the shrine of the Prison of 'Īsa¹ (peace be on him). The Jews imprisoned him here for forty days and did not give him water to drink. 'Īsa, looking at the rock east of that cave, made a hole in the rock with his holy finger, and life-giving water gushed forth. When he left the door of the cell of his prison, the warders fled and reported the miracle to the governor, who, however, passed in silence over it.

fo. 89^v The water is still pure and limpid. Those afflicted with heart diseases use it
l. 5 with success. The site of the Prison of 'Īsa is still a large monastery with seventy to eighty monks. Pilgrims from the countries of the infidels flock thither in (large) numbers. If some unbeliever is afflicted with a mental disease he will be relieved from his suffering by God's permission, if he is kept imprisoned for several days in the Prison of 'Īsa.

(The shrine of) the Sheikh Faqīr is situated amidst orchards. To the right of it, also surrounded by orchards, is that of Sufyān eṭ-Ṭauri of the noble Companions of the Prophet.²

The shrine of Sheikh 'Imādu-d-Dīn rises on the crest of a high mountain east of the town.

Outside these orchards is the shrine of Sheikh Mujāhid with that of Sheikh Mujīru-d-Dīn beside it.

The shrine of Sirri es-Saqatī³ rises on a high mountain to the west of the town. He was the 'spiritual pole' (*quṭb el-aqṭāb*) of his time—may Allah sanctify his soul. It is a huge shrine. Yet he is not buried there but in the fortress of

fo. 89^v 'Ash(shā)ry beside the Shaṭṭ el-'Arab,⁴ near the lovely, prosperous Baghdād.

l. 10 But he lived in Nāblus and this shrine was built for him. It is a large monastery (*tekye*). The chief sheikh of the Dervishes used to celebrate the *zikr* every Thursday evening, with tambourines and drums, until the following morning.

The shrine of Sheikh Ghānem Muḥdisī (Muḥadditī, Muqaddisī?) is situated on the high mountain east of the town.⁵

On the top of the high mountain to the right of the town is the shrine of Sheikh Junaid eṭ-Ṭayyār (i.e. the 'Flyer').⁶ He was called so, because he used to fly repeatedly in a miraculous way whilst he was performing the *zikr*.

¹ This may be identified with the ruins called Deir el-Bunduq 'on the south side of a narrow lane immediately west of Nāblus . . . near 'Ain el Kusab'. *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 179.

² He was not of the 'Companions' but of the 'followers' (*eṭ-tābi 'in*) and lived in the second century A.H. He was a famous theologian, traditionalist, and ascetic, who refused to accept Government employment (office as *qāḍi*) and was persecuted for it.

³ He was the founder of the Dervish order of the Saqatī, and died in Baghdād in A.H. 295 (A.D. 907). Cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vol. IV, p. 622.

⁴ 'Ash-shār is a suburb of Baṣra.

⁵ His shrine is on Mount Garizim, near the ruins of the octagonal church. *SWP*, II, p. 189.

⁶ A Baghdād mystic of Persian origin, who died in A.D. 910.

In the cemetery of the town, near a grassy open-air praying place is (the shrine of) our Lord the Qāḍi Shujā'u-d-Dīn, famous for his vast learning in *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *ferā'id* (Canon Law relating to the division of inheritances), and the *sherī'a*. Molla Shujā'u-d-Dīn was a courageous man, of an exemplary character, eloquent and wise. At his death he was the *qāḍi* of the town. He is known as the Turkish (*rūm*) molla and (his shrine) is visited.

How many thousands of pious men of God are in this city! Yet the humble fo. 89^v writer has visited only (the shrines of) those which he has recorded. May¹ 15 Allah's mercy be on him! May he be allowed to meet the many thousands of pious men, whose prayers are heard, and may he participate in the (blessings derived from) their prayers!

The Commander of the Caravan of pilgrims (*emīru-l-ḥajj*), Kharmūsh¹ Pasha, having detailed ten musketeers to accompany me, I left the town, crossing the open country to the south of it, and passing (through) the following villages.

First comes the village of 'Askar(?),² then *Balāṭa*, 'Awerta,³ *Huwwāra*, *Beni-Tā*, *Beita*.⁴ Here the noble House of Ezra⁵ still stands and is being used as a mosque. From it the village derived its name (!). Certain people afflicted

¹ Khar-mūsh means 'rat'. It is Persian (cf. the Latin *mus*). ² Misspelt *Khry*, probably 'Askar.

³ 'Awerta was visited also by Nābulusi, who mentions a cave under the mosque, reputed to be the burial place of forty prophets. He visited other shrines in the villages. "The villagers know nothing of their names or history, yet they consider these "saints" . . . as their forefathers." These are known nowadays as el-'Ezeirāt, and are the traditional tombs of Phinehas, son of Aaron, Abishua and Ithamar. See also *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 196. 'Awerta is the Aramaic diminutive form of (Kafr) 'Aweira, a former name of this village. Goldziher, 'Mohammedanische Traditionen über den Grabesort des Josua', in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. II (1879), p. 15, quotes s.v. 'Awarta, Yāqūt (III, 745) who mentions the tombs of Joshua, Ezra (Eleazar?) and the Seventy Elders (Prophets).

The account of the Casale Pilgrim (written in 1597-8) and edited by Cecil Roth, London, 1929, mentions the following under 'Awerta (p. 53): 'Avarta. There is the House of Study of Phineas and Eleazar. . . Beneath the village, among the olives, lies Itamar: and among the threshing-floor is a dome, they say, (where) lie the Seventy Elders'.

Rabbi Jacob, Messenger of Rabbi Jechiel of Paris (1238-44), (Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, p. 117) says of *Avarata*, that 'there is the grave of Ithamar the Priest' . . . and 'another grave there, said to be the grave of Phineas, the son of Eleazar the Priest, and the Moslems have a place of prayer near to the grave. There is also in that village a cave in which the Seventy Elders are buried, and there the Ishmaelites have a house of prayer. And on the second hill to the right of the Jerusalem Road is the grave of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the High Priest, and it is a very glorious building.'

Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte (13th-17th cent.) translated by E. Carmoly, has a similar account (pp. 386, 412 (n. 211), and 445). Mujīru-d-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 423, mentions the tomb of Eleazar at 'Awerta.

⁴ Perhaps *Beita-l-Fōqa* and *et-Taḥta* respectively.

⁵ el-'Uzair is the Arabic form of Ezra (Sura ix, 30). In this particular instance Eleazar, son of Aaron, is meant. His traditional tomb is shown at 'Awerta, while that of Ezra, 'the Scribe', is venerated in el-'Uzair, in Southern 'Irāq.

with certain diseases would recover after spending there a few days in prayer and contemplation. It is a well-kept mosque.

Then follow the villages of *ʿAqraba*, *Yānūn* (?), *Sāwi*(*ye*); in fact, all of them
 fo. 89^v are situated in these valleys. In the hill-country there are (another) forty
 l. 20 flourishing, inhabited villages, with mosques, and surrounded by olive groves, fig and mulberry-tree plantations. Yet the villages mentioned are only those which we passed on our way. All of them belong to the district of Nāblus. We passed them within six hours, and reached the ascent of el-Khān (*ʿAqabet el-Lubban*).¹ There is a spacious caravanserai at the foot of a huge, lofty mountain, with no inhabited places around. Climbing it, we experienced a thousand difficulties before we reached the top. It is an exceedingly difficult and stony pass.

Leaving it behind we entered the village of *Sinjil*,² situated within the boundaries of the district of Jerusalem. It consists of two hundred houses. Its inhabitants are Moslems, yet rebellious.

Thence we reached the village of *Bōrēth*³ (el-Bīre), which belongs to the pious foundations dedicated to [the Mosque of] Abraham [at Hebron].

Leaving the public road in an opposite direction, and going southwards, we arrived at the village of *Shimwēl*,⁴ perched on the top of a high mountain. It
 fo. 89^v is a flourishing townlet consisting of two hundred houses, amidst orchards
 l. 25 and vineyards, and has a mosque. The buildings show traces of a fortified place. The inhabitants are very prosperous. Here is

THE SHRINE OF SHIMWĒL (SAMUEL), SON OF ISHMUĒL⁵

peace be on both of them. They both are descendants of Moses and were of those prophets who received inspirations. Shimwēl is buried in a high shrine connected with the mosque. It is a place for pilgrimage for all and sundry.

¹ Misspelt *ʿAqb el-Hallān*, which gives no meaning. Nābulusī saw a pool there.

² This village was known to the Crusaders as Saint Gilles. Nābulusī stayed on his home journey one night in Sinjil, 'We pitched our tents in the verdant meadow. It was a glorious night, yet dangerous from the fear of robbers.'

³ This is the Aramaic form of the name, meaning 'wells', and not springs. Twenty years later, when Nābulusī passed through that village, he mentioned its present-day name (twice).

⁴ This sanctuary is still known as *Nebī Shimwēl*, while the Arabic form, *Nebī Šamwīl*, is more recent and due, probably, to Christian influence. Mujīru-d-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 423-4, also mentions the Prophet Shimwīl and states that his village is called Rama by the Jews.

The *waqfs* of the village are administered by the senior member of the well-known 'Alamī family of Jerusalem.

⁵ The form of this name in firmāns differs between *Ishmūʿīn* (A.H. 1033, A.D. 1624), *Ishmuwēl* (A.H. 1192, A.D. 1778), and the present form *Shimwēl*. The form *Samwīl* appears already in the 'Plan of the Town and environs of Jerusalem, constructed from the English Ordnance Survey and measurements of Dr. T. Tobler' by C. W. M. Van de Velde, 1858.

But it is uncertain whether Ishmu'el too is buried under the high dome. I passed the night as guest of the shrine and was generously entertained.

We left it and reached the high road after half an hour and, going in a southerly direction, arrived at the village of *Ain ez-Zāher Baybars*.¹ It has two hundred houses and is surrounded by vineyards and orchards. Its main yields are olives. It is a Moslem village. Its clear spring gushes from four places and has limpid water.

We left it and marched on a cleanly kept high road, which leads through the orchards of Jerusalem to the Shrine of *Sheikh Farrāḥ*,² situated by the fo. 89^v road-side. He was a noble Companion of the Prophet. Yet when the strata-^{l. 30} gem of the blessed Prophet was carried out at Uḥud, and people died on the battle-field as martyrs, he girded himself to serve the Prophet, as the surgeons had become tired. His shrine is large. I prayed there the *Fātiḥa* and assigned it to the benefit of his noble soul.

Thus we marched for six hours in a southerly direction from the caravan-serai at the Ascent (i.e. *Khān el-Lubban*) [till here,] the way leading through orchards and vineyards.³

DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT FORTRESS AND FORMER QIBLA BEITU-L-MAQDIS, i.e. JERUSALEM

It is called in Greek (!) the Province of *Aelia*, in Syriac *Maqdishā*, in Hebrew *Has* (!)⁴ and in Arabic *Beitu-l-Maqdis* or *Quds*. It contains the shrines of one hundred and twenty-four thousand Prophets. Before and after the Deluge it was the *qibla* of mankind.

When the Prophet, in response to a divine order, fled from Mecca to fo. 89^v Medina, he was fifty-one years and nine months old. He lived for ten years^{l. 35} in Medina. In the second year (of his stay there) the verse 'Turn thy face towards the Noble Sanctuary' (Sura ii, v. 144) was transmitted by divine message to him through the trustworthy Gabriel, from God. Thus the *qibla*

¹ This is probably the spring near the church in (*Qaryet*) *el-'Inab* (= *Abu Ghōsh*), as the hill above is known as *Deir el-Azhar* (identified by L. H. Vincent, O.P., as Eleazar, vide *Revue biblique*, 1899, p. 469). Evliya may well have confused *el-Azhar* with the name of the Mamluke sultan *ez-Zāher Baybars* (A.D. 1223-77).

² Mujīru-d-Dīn el-Ḥanbali states in his *Chronicle* (Būlāq, A.D. 1866-7), p. 399, that the shrine of Sheikh Farrāḥ was situated north of Jerusalem, and that pious foundations and offices were attached to it, and that it was bequeathed by an emir of Saladin, a certain Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Ḥusein b. Sharafi-d-Dīn 'Īsa-l-Jarrāḥī, who died in Ṣafar A.H. 958 (began 22 Nov. 1199), and was buried there.

³ Evliya seems to have forgotten that he spent a night in the village of *Nebi Shimw'el* (*Nebi Ṣamwīl*). The distance from there to Jerusalem via (*Qaryet*) *el-'Inab* is about six hours on horse-back, with a caravan, averaging four miles an hour.

⁴ حاس. Possibly misspelt for *ha-'Ir* 'the city' *par excellence*.

was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. It was ordered that fast should be kept in Mecca. Yet the former *qibla* was Jerusalem, and it served as such for the Christians. In short, it was the desire of every one of its possessors, especially the Christians, as Christ left his mother's womb here, in Jerusalem. Besides, all wars have been waged for this city. Yet, other wars were also waged by the Christians for (the possession of) Mecca. [The story of] the people of the Elephant,¹ Abraha, and the people of the Tubba'² of Yemen are well known.

The fortress of Jerusalem was originally built during the reign of David, at the hands of Saul (*Ṭālūt*), because Goliath (*Ǧālūt*) attacked Jerusalem repeatedly on account of its most sacred sites. After having waged several
fo. 89^v campaigns against it, he succeeded in taking it. Then King Saul and David fought a very great battle against Goliath in Merj Dābiq, near Aleppo, where David with well-directed pebble-stones killed Goliath according to the Verse (Sura ii, 252) 'And David slew Goliath. And God gave him the Kingdom...'

David became thereupon independent king and returned safely with much booty to Jerusalem, and embellished the city with the booty from Goliath's kingdom. In spite of his being a prophet and a king he occupied himself with smithery and produced mail coats. David is therefore the patron of the smiths.

Then, in the year³ . . . Nebuchadnezzar wished to revenge the blood of St. John the Baptist. He left the town of Nisibin in Kurdistan (!) and arrived at Jerusalem. He destroyed all its buildings and caused its people to suffer intensely, killing many thousands of the Israelites. He did not stop killing them
fo. 89^v (lit. withdraw the sword) until he had shed blood as worthy as that of St. John.

l. 45 Daniel was taken prisoner from Safad and was brought to Mosul.

Jerusalem flourished again. During the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, in the year⁴ . . . of the Hijra, it was besieged by 'Umar in person with sixty thousand warriors. It surrendered against safe conduct. Yet the inhabitants stipulated that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is their (main) place of worship, should be left to them. Including this stipulation in a covenant,⁵ they thus surrendered Jerusalem. 'Umar had a mosque built over

¹ These were the invading Abyssinians, mentioned in Sura cv. The bibliography of this incident is collected in Noeldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 93.

² *Tubba'* (pl. *tabābi'a*) was the pre-Islamic title of the kings of Arabia Felix.

³ No year mentioned or space provided for its insertion.

⁴ No year is mentioned. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 932 ff. fixes the year as A.H. 17 (A.D. 638), while Ṭabarī in his *Annals* (V, p. 2360) states that Jerusalem surrendered in the year A.H. 14 (began 25 February A.D. 635).

⁵ See the translation of this covenant below, p. 147, note 5. No stipulation is contained in that covenant.

against the Anastasis.¹ He left ten thousand warriors in the citadel and re- fo. 90r
turned to Mecca, sending 'Amr ibnu-l-'Āṣ to conquer Egypt. l. 1

Then again, the infidels took Jerusalem in the year . . .² Saladin, whilst minister of the martyr Nūr ed-Dīn, in Damascus, advanced towards Jerusalem with one hundred thousand soldiers and conquered it in a desperate fight.³ He had the citadel dismantled, so that the infidels might not fortify it again, should they reconquer it.

When Jerusalem was in the possession of the Circassian Mamlukes all the fo. 90r
'ulema and pious men went out to meet Selim Shāh in A.H. 922 (=A.D. l. 5
1516). They handed him the keys to the Mosque el-Aqṣa and the Dome of the Rock of Allah.⁴ Selīm prostrated himself and exclaimed: 'Thanks be to Allah! I am now the possessor of the (Sanctuary of the) first *qibla*' (direction of prayer). He then made presents to all the notable people, exempted them from onerous taxes and confirmed them (sc. in their posts = *musellem itti*).

He then passed the Documents of 'Umar,⁵ which were in the possession of

¹ Eutychius mentions only that 'Umar prayed on the step of the eastern entrance to the Anastasis. *Annales*, II, p. 17.

The mosque referred to is that restored by Saladin's son, el-Malik el-Afḍal 'Alī in A.H. 589 (A.D. 1193), mentioned by Mujīru-d-Dīn, p. 397, among his *awqāf*. Van Berchem, *Jérusalem, Ville*, I, p. 95-6, published its foundation inscription.

² No year mentioned, or space provided for it.

³ This took place in 1187.

⁴ A firmān granted in 1517 by Selim I, 'in the Desert of the Noble Sanctuary', states after the preamble, that 'by the help of Allah . . . I came to the House of Allah in Jerusalem on the 25th Šafar (A.H. 923 = 20 March 1517). . . . In accordance with the august Covenant granted them (i.e. the Christian monks) by his Lordship the Caliph 'Umar, . . . and according to the noble orders (given them) since the days of Saladin . . . they are now confirmed in their rights and possessions. . . .' (MSS. in possession of Greek and Armenian Patriarchates).

⁵ Ṭabarī, *تاريخ الرسل والملو*, *Annales*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, Vol. V (ed. by E. Prym), pp. 2405-6 gives the full text of the Covenant of 'Umar, translation of which follows. M. de Goeje has given another translation in his *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, Leiden, 1900, pp. 152-3.

'In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate.

'This is the security (*amān*) accorded by the servant of Allah, Umar, to the inhabitants of Aelia.

'He guarantees them (the security of) their persons, possessions, churches, crosses, their healthy and sick persons and of all their community (*millat*).

'Their churches will not be inhabited, nor destroyed, nor will anything be taken therefrom or from the ground on which they stand, nor of their cross (*ṣalīb*), nor of anything of their possessions.

'They will not suffer for their religion, nor will any one of them be molested and injured.

'No Jews whatever will live together with them in Aelia.

'The inhabitants of Aelia shall pay poll-tax (*jizya*) like those of other towns (sc. occupied by Arab forces).

'They have to turn out the Byzantines (*er-rūm*) and brigands (*luṣūṣ*) from their city. Those of them who leave (the town) will be granted safe-conduct for their persons and their property till they arrive at their place of security.

'But those of them who remain, will be safe, too. Yet they are to pay the same poll-tax as the inhabitants of Aelia.

the Greek and Frankish Monks (!),¹ over his face and eyes and gave them a Royal Writ (*ḥaṭṭ-i shérif*), confirming to the monks the contents of the documents, to wit, that they were exempted from paying taxes² and that the Anastasis was their (main) praying-place, as heretofore.

He installed Pasha³ as Governor. Mevlāna Akhfesh-Zadé, the chief of the *Mevlevi* (= Whirling or Dancing) Dervishes, was confirmed in his office and granted 500 *aqtchés* as 'alms' (*sadaqat*).⁴

The 'province' (*eyālet*) (of Palestine) was 'delivered' (from the Mamlukes). It is still considered as a kind of 'barley-fief' ministry (*arpalyq*).⁵

'Those inhabitants of Aelia desiring to accompany the Byzantines—leaving behind them their churches and crosses (*sulb*)*—will enjoy safety for themselves, their churches and crosses, until they reach their place of security.

'Those of the peasants who have been in the city before the murder of N.N. (*fulān*)** and desire (now) to remain there, may stay (in town), if they pay the same poll-tax as the inhabitants of Aelia. Those who wish, may leave with the Byzantines, or, if they desire, return home. Nothing will be taken from them before the harvesting of the crops.

'Allah's Covenant will be observed regarding the contents of this letter.

'The protection of the Apostle of Allah, his Caliphs and the Faithful (is assured to them), if they pay the poll-tax imposed on them. Witnessed by Khālīd b. el-Walīd (*ob.* A.D. 642 ?), 'Amr b. el-'Āṣ (*ob.* A.D. 663), 'Abdurrahmān b. 'Auf (*ob.* A.D. 652) and Mu'āwiya b. Abi Sufyān (*ob.* April 680), who was present as secretary, in the year A.H. 15 (A.D. 636).'

The version given by Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, in his *Annales* (ed. by Cheikho, Beirut, 1909), Pt. II, p. 17, is much shorter and runs as follows:

'In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate. From 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to the inhabitants of Aelia. They are safe for their lives, their children, properties and their churches, which will neither be destroyed nor inhabited.'

¹ The author does not realize that communities of Latin monks did not exist in Palestine at the time of 'Umar.

² al-Wāsiṭī, *fada'il beiti-l-maqdis* (A.H. 482, A.D. 1089, MS. in the Jazzār Mosque Library, Acre) states that the taxes mentioned in 'Umar's covenant were five, four, and three denarii *pro capita* according to the status of the Christians. Aged men and children were exempted. The contemporary firmān states this as follows: '... They will be entirely exempted and free from paying custom duties, tolls, and other oppressive taxes levied at the gate of Jerusalem, the escort fees for the Arabs and the harbour and inspection fees.' This firmān was granted separately to Armenians and Greeks in Jerusalem, in A.H. 923 (= A.D. 1517).

³ A blank is left in the manuscript for the name of the Pasha. Firmāns issued in that year (A.H. 923, A.D. 1517) to communities in Jerusalem were addressed to them through the Governor, who is not mentioned by name.

⁴ This 'present' has nothing to do with the usual *qudūmiyyet*, the so-called 'arrival' present given to high officials upon taking up their new appointments. The text mentions it expressly as 'alms'.

⁵ The 'barley' pension was originally a fief bestowed by the Sultan to high dignitaries, governors-general, &c., ostensibly to furnish barley for their stables. This fief was situated usually outside the province administered by them. Later a stipend was paid by government instead; the recipients were also judges of the first class.

* *Sulb* may tentatively be taken to stand also for 'immovable property', though no classical nor Islamic reference could be quoted to illustrate this. ** This refers to a high personage purposely left unnamed.

The revenues for the Sultan are 357,485 *aqṭchēs*. There are nine *za 'āmet* fo. 90^r and 106 *tīmār* fiefs. The pasha of Jerusalem has five hundred soldiers at his^{1. 10} command and is the commandant of the pilgrims' caravan of Damascus. He is the leader of the Mecca pilgrims to (!) Damascus and back. He receives an annuity of 40,000 piasters.

It is a prosperous province. Yet its fief-holders are not ordered to serve in the field, but only to accompany with their banners the pilgrims arriving (and to conduct them) to the place of their pilgrimage. Altogether they number six hundred men.

The judge (or civil governor)¹ of Jerusalem receives as much as the pasha, because his district counts altogether sixteen hundred villages—to all of which judge-substitutes are appointed, as his is a noble dignity of jurisdiction (*mevleviyyet*). And when it sometimes appears that patriarchs, priests and deacons (lit. cross[-bearers]), monks, and married priests leave some money, the molla² and the pasha receive from that money between forty and fifty thousand piasters. This is especially the case at the infamous feast of Easter, fo. 90^r when the molla and the pasha go to the door of the Anastasis, which would^{1. 15} not be opened (sc. on that day) before their arrival there. The priest would take from each of the five to ten thousand Christians ten to fifteen piasters and give the molla and the pasha 20(000?), which is a considerable sum.³

When the country was delivered (from the Mamlukes) by Selīm the *pashalik* (Province) (of Palestine) consisted of the following Districts: 1. Gaza, 2. Jebel

One instance may suffice to illustrate this practice. Von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. VI, p. 161, relates of Sultan Muṣṭafa IV, 'Der Günstling Mustafa erhielt die Sandschake von Tire und Magnesia als "Gerstengeld"' (12 July 1665).

¹ The highest posts of judges under the early Turkish Administration were those of Constantinople (*Istanbūl mollasi*, *Istanbūl qāḍisi* or *Istanbūl efendisi*), followed by the supreme judges of the 'four towns' (*bilād-i arba' a mollasi*), i.e. those of Adrianople, Brussa, Damascus, and Cairo.

The judges were appointed by Royal Rescript (*berāt*) upon the recommendation of the *sheikhu-l-Islām*, the highest judicial authority. Cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Vol. IV, Pt. ii, pp. 495–583.

Imperial Rescripts (*firṁāns* as well as *berawāt*) dealing with administrative problems were generally addressed to the governor, usually a pasha, then to the *qāḍi*, then to the '*ulemā*' as a body, and finally to the nobles and notables, all mentioned in this order on the same document. The section addressing a *qāḍi* runs thus: '... and the most authoritative of Moslem Judges, the best of the Governors believing in one god, the mine of munificence and sure belief, the uplifter of the banners of Shari'a Law and (Moslem) religion, the inheritor of the (esoteric) knowledge of Prophets and Apostles, who is especially adopted by the abundant grace of the succour-giving King—our Lord, the Qāḍi of Jerusalem—may his excellent qualities increase. ...' This preamble is quoted in extenso in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII, 1933, p. 108.

² *Molla*, *Monla* (Turkish corruption of the Arabic *maula*, Lord, Master) is the title of the *qāḍi*.

³ The original shows the word 'twenty'; the contemporary practice, however, shows that 20,000 is meant.

'Ajlūn, 3. Lejjūn, 4. Nāblus, 5. Jerusalem.¹ These districts are administered by the pasha. Besides there are five districts under the rule of the desert chieftains (*tshol beyler*) which they administer like their own possessions, yet at the same time they owe fealty to the Sultan.

There are in this province some villages set aside as pious foundations,² yet the greater part of the villages belong to the *za'āmet* and *tīmār* fief holders, the chiefs of the mounted feudal yeomanry. There is also a colonel of the troops (*sanjaghi alāy beyisi*) as well as a Janissary colonel.

The fief holders convey the Moslem pilgrims to Hebron and to the birth-
fo. 90^r place of Jesus in Bethlehem and to the Nebī Mūsa,³ as the roads are insecure
l. 20 from the Arab rebels.

There is a colonel of the mounted troops (in Jerusalem) as well as the headquarters of the officer commanding the Janissaries and the officer commanding the Damascus Janissaries; the office of the four sheikhs of the four orthodox 'schools', a *naqibu-l-ashraf*;⁴ the nobles and notables, '*ulemā*' and pious men being excessively numerous. There is also a commandant of the fortress (*duzdār*)⁵ with a garrison of two hundred men.

The molla sends troops from the garrison to difficult parts of the country to be at the disposal of the judges stationed at Jerusalem, Hebron, Nāblus, Ramleh, Kerak, Lejjūn, Jenīn. These districts have all been joined and form his *mevleviyyet* (office and jurisdiction). Districts are sometimes annexed (to
fo. 90^r that of Jerusalem) according to the ability of the molla. But sometimes a
l. 25 *qāḍi* (judge) is appointed for some years only for Jerusalem. In short, forty thousand piastres accrue annually to the legal administration of Jerusalem.

There are twenty officers (*āgha*) under the molla of Jerusalem, appointed by Imperial Rescript.⁶ The first is the *muḥẓir bashi*,⁶ appointed by the Sultan on a state occasion. He is the night guardian of the gates and carries this duty with imperial troops (*ru'ūsī humāyūn*). The second *āgha* is the police inspector appointed especially for Jerusalem (to that office) which is a coveted

¹ M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, Vol. VII, p. 304, mentions these five districts among the nine forming Syria, Jerusalem being then governed by a pasha, Gaza by a civil governor, and the other districts by *mutesellims*.

² See, e.g., Evliya's statement about el-Bīre (Bērōth) in this connexion, p. 144.

³ For inscriptions about the foundation of the shrine of Nebī Mūsa see *QDAP*, Vol. II, 1932, pp. 27 ff. 'Two Inscriptions of Baybars' by L. A. Mayer.

⁴ This office is hereditary, and as a rule is filled by members of the Ḥasanī or Ḥuseinī families throughout the Moslem world. In Jerusalem the holder of this post belongs to the Naqib family, a branch of the Ḥuseinīs. In Baghdād the *naqibu-l-ashraf* is a member of the Senate, and wields great influence.

⁵ The Dizdār family of Jerusalem traces its descent from a *duzdār* of the 17th century.

⁶ Such Imperial Rescripts of appointment (*berā'et*, *barā'a*) were issued on two occasions, as a rule; viz. on the accession to the throne of a new Sultan, or on a high government post becoming vacant.

high post. The third *āgha* is the chief architect; the fourth is the chief engineer, the fifth the chief steward, the sixth the chief cashier, who personally pays to the '*ulemā*' the yearly gifts (*ṣirra*)¹ of the Sultan. The seventh *āgha* is the treasurer, the eighth the police officer, the ninth the market inspector, the tenth the mayor, and the eleventh the chief of the mart of brocade. In fine, the chiefs of all classes of merchants are daily present at the Sherī'a Court for duty.

There are seven 'resplendent' *awqāf* in Jerusalem, the *mutevelliler*² of which fo. 90^r attend the Court, each coming there with a present for the molla. It is a large l. 30 legal administration and Judge's Court.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS OF JERUSALEM

All chronicles call this country the Land of Palestine. Allah has praised it in the noble Qur'ān in forty-two passages, implicitly and clearly.

When in former generations all kings were anxious to get hold of Jerusalem, it was besieged one hundred times and its citadel was destroyed. It was a huge fortress, constructed of ashlar, when it was built by the order of Sultan Selīm by Muṣṭafa Lālē Pasha³ with (the revenues? of) twelve *sanjaqs*, in an indescribable manner. The citadel, destroyed in olden times, rises to something between forty and fifty Mecca yards⁴ from the foundations. It was built outside (the walls), while the mosques of el-Aqṣa and of the Rock are within them. It is a square, strong (*vāry*) citadel of huge construction, each fo. 90^r ashlar having the size of a lion or the hind-parts of an elephant. l. 35

The circumference of the 'body' of the citadel may be described as follows:

First comes the Dung Gate (Gate of the Maugrebins), opening to the south; it is a small gate. It has been given this name because the Maugrebins have taken it in the war. Its date has been thus expressed:

امر بإنشاء هذا الباب في أيام (ال)سلطان الاعظم السلطان سليمان خان ابن سليم خان خلد
الله ملكه (١)تاريخ محرم الحرام في سنة سبع وأربعين وتسعمائة⁵

'Order has been issued to construct this Gate during the reign of the great Sultan, the Sultan Suleimān Khān, son of Selīm Khān, may Allah perpetuate

¹ See above, p. 147. The distribution of similar presents to members of '*ulemā*' families continued even under Ibrāhīm Pasha.

² This post is a post of confidence, either given or approved by the *qāḍi*, under a special writ. The *mutevelli* is in charge of the immovable property of a *waqf*, under a *kitābu-t-tauliya*.

³ It is doubtful whether Muṣṭafa Lālē Pasha (died in A.D. 1580) who was Governor-General of Syria (Damascus) for eight years, reconstructed the walls of Jerusalem. Hanauer says the architect who built the walls was later on beheaded, because he did not include the suburb of en-Nebi Dā'ūd in the walls. *Folklore of the Holy Land*, London, 1907, p. 96.

⁴ See note 2, p. 155.

⁵ See Van Berchem, *CIA, Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 443.

his reign—in the holy month of Muḥarram of the year 947 (=A.D. May 1540).¹ This inscription has been recorded on all gates and towers of the citadel, and on the corner ‘bends’ in very clear writing.

fo. 90^r Going along the city wall (which has here no moat) and leaving this Gate
l. 40 of the Maugrebins in a western direction there are to the water tower five hundred large paces. From thence, again upwards to the westernmost point there are one thousand paces until one reaches the Gate of David.

This gate, too, looks towards the south. It is new and twelve ells high. From here again to the corner of the citadel there is a distance of two hundred and fifty paces in a western direction. This site is one corner of the fortress. One goes from here in a northern direction. Following the edge of the moat to the north one reaches, after six hundred ‘stretched’ paces, the Jaffa Gate (*Bāb Khaṭīl er-Raḥmān* = The Gate of the Friend of the Compassionate, i.e. Abraham). This gate opens to the west and is ten ells high. It has a high double iron gate. It, too, has the chronological inscription written above the upper lintel.² Passing from this *Bāb el-Khaṭīl* along the moatless skirt of the citadel in a western direction, one reaches the ‘leaning tower’³ after a distance
fo. 90^r of four hundred paces. This tower is the other corner of the fortress. From
l. 45 this place, too, one goes in a northerly direction (!).

Going east of this ‘leaning tower’ in the moat, one beholds gardens and orchards, till one comes to the foot of the ascent to the Gate of the Iron Wurmace (*Bozdoghān Qapu*),⁴ at a distance of nine hundred paces off. It looks towards the north and consists of two strong iron gates. Since the time when a Kurdish (or Georgian?)⁵ wrestler was executed at this gate it is called *Bozdoghān*. Outside this gate one follows the moat in an eastern direction and comes after one hundred paces to the rock-cut Cave of the Ghosts, who were here imprisoned by the Prophet Solomon.⁶ It is a mysterious cave,

¹ This does not agree with the inscription given by Max van Berchem in his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, II^e Partie, *Syrie du Sud, Jérusalem, Ville*, 1923, p. 442, where it is quoted as امر بانشاء هذا السور المبارك مولانا سلطان سليمان بن سليم خان بتاريخ في سنة سبع واربعين وتسعمائة

² All these inscriptions have been published by van Berchem in his work quoted above.

³ There is no trace at present of this Turkish name, nor is there any indication that this ‘fortress of Goliath (*Qalʿat Jālūd*)’ is a ‘leaning tower’. It was known to the Crusaders as Tancred’s Tower, and it is possible that this name was so corrupted that Evliya understood it to be the equivalent of the Turkish *egri*.

⁴ The Damascus Gate is called in Arabic either *Bāb el-ʿĀmūd*, the Gate of the Column, or *Bāb en-Naṣr* (Gate of Victory), alluding to the triumphal entry of Saladin into Jerusalem, according to local tradition.

⁵ The letters allow a double reading, though ‘Kurd’ may be preferable. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *Gurjistān*, about the different Turkish spellings of that name.

⁶ This is the so-called ‘Cotton-Grotto’, the ‘Royal Caverns’ of Josephus; described by E.

protected by a talisman and worth while seeing. Going for another three hundred paces from the place over against the tower above this cave, in an eastern direction, in the moat, one comes to *Bāb ez-Zāhira*,¹ a small iron gate fo. 90^v facing east (!). Thence, walking along the edge of the moat towards the east l. 1 there is the corner of the tower of Rustem Pasha,² after five hundred paces.

From here one turns now to the south, walking in the moat, and being within the range of the fire,³ until one reaches the Gate of the Tribes.⁴ It is also called the Gate of Mary, since she lies buried there. After five hundred paces we come to an exposed double iron(!) gate,⁵ on the east side, facing the Mount of Olives.

From the Gate of Mary along the moatless walls of the Aqşa Mosque there are six hundred paces until one reaches the corner of the Shrine of Mary.⁶ Here is the fourth corner of the fortress of Jerusalem, which is therefore square.

From the Shrine of Mary to the west no moat is passed as one goes by steep Pierotti in his work *Jerusalem Explored* (Vol. I, p. 226; Pl. IX of Vol. II); London, 1864, and Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeol. Researches*, I, pp. 239-46.

¹ *Bāb ez-Zāhira*. The current pronunciation led writers to translate it as 'Flower Gate'. The form with *sīn* is that used by the Arabic geographer al-Bashshārī, better known as al-Muqaddasī; in his *أحسن التقاسيم في معرفة الأقاليم* *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici*, ed. de Goeje, p. 172, he states on the name of Sāhira

... وموضع يسمونه الساهرة وحدثونا عن ابن عباس ان الساهرة هي ارض القيامة بيضاء لم يسفك عليها دم
'... and a place they call *es-Sāhira*. We have been informed by traditional "chain", on the authority of ('Abdullāh) Ibn 'Abbās (ob. A.D. 688?) that *es-Sāhira* is the stretch of land of the Resurrection; it is "white" (= bleak) and no blood has ever been shed on it'. Yāqūt, in his *mu'jamu-l-buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), Vol. III, p. 25, quotes the same, mentioning el-Bashshārī as a further traditional source. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Bk. I, Pt. 4, p. 1452, col. 1 bottom, explains *es-Sāhira* as 'a certain mountain of Jerusalem' on the authority of Wahb ibn Munabbih (A.D. 654-732) in the *Qāmūs*. el-Wāsiṭī in his *faḍā'il beitu-l-maqdis* (A.D. 1089), fol. 85, quotes authorities for *es-Sāhira*, whose eschatological meaning is Hell (cf. Baidawī, s.v., Sura 79, v. 14). He adds that it is the *baqī'* (cultivated land) near the Mount of Olives.

² This is not Rustem Pasha, the Ottoman Grand Vizier and historian (1500-61), who never visited Jerusalem.

³ Conjectural translation of the Turkish *atesh ashāghy*.

⁴ The text seems here to have been tampered with. No distance is given from the present-day Burj el-Laglag (north-east corner tower, the 'Rustem Pasha Tower' of the text) and the Gate of St. Stephen, the 'Gate of Mary (*Bāb Sittna Maryam*)' or 'Gate of the Tribes' in the text.

⁵ The so-called 'Golden Gate', known nowadays as *Tūma-Tūma*, had been blocked up since the 6th century; the iron gates are those within. Its present-day name is *Bāb ed-Dāhiriyye* (Gate of Eternity), alluding to the legend that the last day will be at hand when this gate is reopened.

⁶ The 'Shrine of Mary' is known to-day as the 'Cradle of Jesus' (*mahd 'Isa*), where the Virgin Mary is said to have suckled her child whilst in the Temple (or, as another version has it, whilst she was hiding from Herod in consequence of the incident related in Matthew ii, 5). The shrine is reached from the south-east corner, by a staircase descending to the so-called 'Stables of Solomon.' No trace of the Turkish name is nowadays known to the guides.

fo. 90^v and awe-inspiring places until one passes in front of the praying-niche of the
 l. 5 Aqşa Mosque and arrives again at the Gate of the Maugrebins, making finally eight hundred paces.

According to this calculation the circumference of the fortress is seven thousand and fifty paces.¹ It has fifty-seven well-fortified towers and seventy-three bends which command the other walls. There are altogether four thousand and forty embrasures between the battlements of the wall.

Passing from the Shrine of Mary to the Gate of the Maugrebins and David's Gate and thence to the northern (!) corner, one encounters no moat for a stretch of seventeen hundred yards over very stony ground. The moat is not quite necessary there; besides, there is no space for it. The two moats on the western side are not very deep; they may be perhaps something between two and three paces deep.²

Within the Gate of Jaffa the citadel is connected on one side with the main fortress.³ It is another small, inner fortress, four hundred paces in circumfer-
 fo. 90^v ence with three exposed iron gates giving to the large fortress. From the first
 l. 10 gate one crosses a wooden bridge leading to the citadel. This building, grey with age, has a *divān-khāné* (Council chamber, or a Court of Justice), embellished with very many war implements, situated within the citadel.

In the citadel live the commandant (*duzdār*), the agent of the governor (*kehya*), an *imām*, a preacher, a *muezzin* and soldiers. There are altogether seventy stone-built rooms within, and exceedingly small ones at that. The garden of the commandant of the citadel is a small flourishing one, situated in the moat of the citadel.

The corner-tower at the right-hand side of the entrance to the citadel is the tower and noble dwelling built by David himself. For sentimental reasons it is not inhabited, but used as an ammunition depot and treasury. It has an iron door. The tower is built with ashlar measuring five to six yards.

¹ According to his enumeration the city wall has the following dimensions:

(a) South: 500 and 500 and 1,000 and 250	2,250 paces
(b) West: 600 and 400	1,000 „
(c) North: 900 and 100 and 300 and 500	1,800 „
(d) East: 500 and 600 [and 800 mentioned south]	1,900 „

i.e. a total of 6,950 paces against his 7,050. The difference of 100 paces may be accounted for by the fact that Evliya seems to have omitted in this account the measurements of the gate towers.

² This moat was, however, even after the Great War, very deep. It has been filled up since. The ground levelled serves now as a stand for taxicabs and motor-buses.

³ Illustrations of this may be quoted from several books on Jerusalem and Palestine during the last century, e.g. *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt*, ed. by Sir C. W. Wilson (London, n.d.), Vol. I, pp. 3 and 5; E. Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored* (London, 1864), Vol. II, Pl. VI; D. Roberts, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia* (London, 1855), Vol. I, Pls. 13 and 24.

Verily, there is no doubt whatever about it having been constructed by spirits.¹

The moat of this citadel outside the Jaffa Gate is about forty ells deep and fo. 90^v fifty Mecca² ells broad. The citadel has three stories strongly built. Each^{1. 15} ashlar has the size of the body of an elephant.

The prayer niche of the Mosque of David in the citadel is directed towards the north (!) to the Mosque el-Aqṣā. When thereafter the verse 'Turn thou thy face to the noble Sanctuary' (Sura ii, v. 144) was transmitted by inspiration to Mohammed, the direction during prayers was instituted towards Mecca.

Sultan 'Īsā of the Ayyūbids had this prayer place of David transformed into a mosque and placed a white marble slab in the left wall of it with the following chronological inscription:³

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (آيه) ام من اسس بنيانه على
تقوى من الله نصر من الله وفتح قريب وعمل هذا البرج المبارك من مولانا الملك المعظم شرف
الدنيا والدين عيسى ابن ملك (!) العادل بن سيف الدين بن ابي بكر بن محمد بن ايوبيان (!)
بن شادى خلد الله دولته وتولى عمارته عز الدين وعمر عمارته بارض فلسطين في شهور سنة عشر
وستماية والى (!) الله رب العالمين

'In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate.'

'There is no God but Allah; Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah.'

'Whether therefore is he better, who hath founded his building on the fear of God and his good will. . . .' (Sale, Qur'ān ix, 110.)

'Assistance from God and a speedy victory.' (Sura lxi, 13; Sale.) 'This blessed tower was built by (order of) our Lord, el-Melik el-Mu'azzam, the glory of the world and of religion, 'Īsā, son of el-Melik el-'Ādil, son of Saifu-d-Dīn, son of Abu Bekr, son of Muḥammad, son of Ayyūb, son of Shādi, may God perpetuate his kingdom and lengthen his life. 'Izzu-d-Dīn⁴ directed

¹ This refers to the common legend, that King Solomon built the Temple by ordering the spirits to carry the stones and build it.

² Possibly the usual 'architect's cubit' of 29½ inches. H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, Pt. III, *Mesures de Capacité* (Paris, 1887), mentions on pp. 217-40 all kinds of *dirā'* but not this one.

³ Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 131, corrects this faulty inscription.

⁴ This supervisor was 'Izzu-d-Dīn b. Yaghmūr. There are families in Hebron with this name, who trace their ancestry to an Emir Yaghmūr. They are of Turkish stock, yet have become Arabs.

its construction and built it in the land of Palestine during the months of A.H. 610 (A.D. 1213-14). And praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Universe.' fo. 90^v There are no buildings whatever around the fortress of Jerusalem, except l. 20 for the suburb of David, which consists of forty houses.¹

Except the gardens, vineyards, and flower gardens, all buildings are within the fortress. All quarters are Moslem. There are altogether one thousand fortress-like lofty palaces. The buildings within this town are of masonry; there are no wooden constructions at all. Yet the doors are made of wood. The houses are covered with lime and are all prayer places.²

There are two Friday mosques, the one within the citadel, and the other being that one which has been designed as such by a decisive text, the Aqşa Mosque, mentioned by the Creator in the noble Qur'ān (xvii, 1). Besides these there are no Friday mosques, all others being ordinary ones.

Translated and annotated by ST. H. STEPHAN.

¹ This seems to have been the case until the middle of the last century, cf. S. N. Spyridon, 'Annals of Palestine, 1824-1841', published in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-2, Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 63-132.

Evliya seems to have ignored the Church over the Tomb of the Virgin, and perhaps Deir Abu Tōr (St. Mark), as lying outside the walls, to say nothing of Sheikh Jarrāḥ (p. 145) and the Sheikh 'Ukkāshe (opposite the present-day German Consulate-General). But these constructions are shrines and not immediately 'around the fortress'.

² This sweeping statement need not be taken too literally. It has been made also in the case of Şafed, *QDAP*, Vol. IV, 1935, p. 158, and Nāblus (p. 138).

EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN, 1937-8¹

'Affūle

(Hebrew University, Jerusalem; directed by Dr. E. L. Sukenik.)

DURING the month of March 1937 excavations were undertaken at 'Affūle. Work was carried out mainly near the water-tower, in the vicinity of the railway station. On this spot a number of grey burnished potsherds had been found in 1931, while the foundations for the water-tower were being dug (*PEF QSt.*, July 1936, pp. 150-4). In 1937 a number of pits were dug in this vicinity which revealed the fact that a settlement of the Chalcolithic period existed here. Later on, the settlement moved to the present tell of 'Affūle, near the road from Jerusalem to Haifa. During this later period the older settlement was used as a necropolis, and a number of tombs from different ages were found dug into the earlier deposits; this had caused a great deal of the earlier deposits to be disturbed.

The most important result of the excavation on the tell was that in one place, where a stratified area remained undisturbed, under the grey burnished ware a number of Tuleilāt Ghassūl potsherds were found. Thus, two facts were definitely established: (a) that the Tuleilāt Ghassūl culture extended as far as the plain of Esdraelon, and (b) that it preceded the age of the grey burnished ware. To this earlier Tuleilāt Ghassūl period belong remains of structures which were built of crude, plano-convex bricks, burnt and unburnt, in which traces of finger impressions of the brick-makers can still be seen. Unfortunately it was impossible to ascertain the plan of these houses.

Among the deposits of later periods, tombs with good Khirbet Kerak ware were found, and also of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Besides pottery, a number of flint implements from earlier periods, as well as metal objects from later periods, were unearthed.

The results of this excavation, combined with those of a sounding carried out by the Hebrew University some years ago, prove that the site of 'Affūle was occupied continuously from the early Chalcolithic period till the present.

'Auja el Ḥafīr

(Colt Archaeological Expedition; Acting-Director, T. J. Colin Baly.)

AT 'Auja el Ḥafīr a brief sounding was made to enable the pottery lying against the base of the fort to be more accurately compared with the new material from Khalasa. It was without definite results.

¹ Continued from Vol. VII, pp. 45-55.

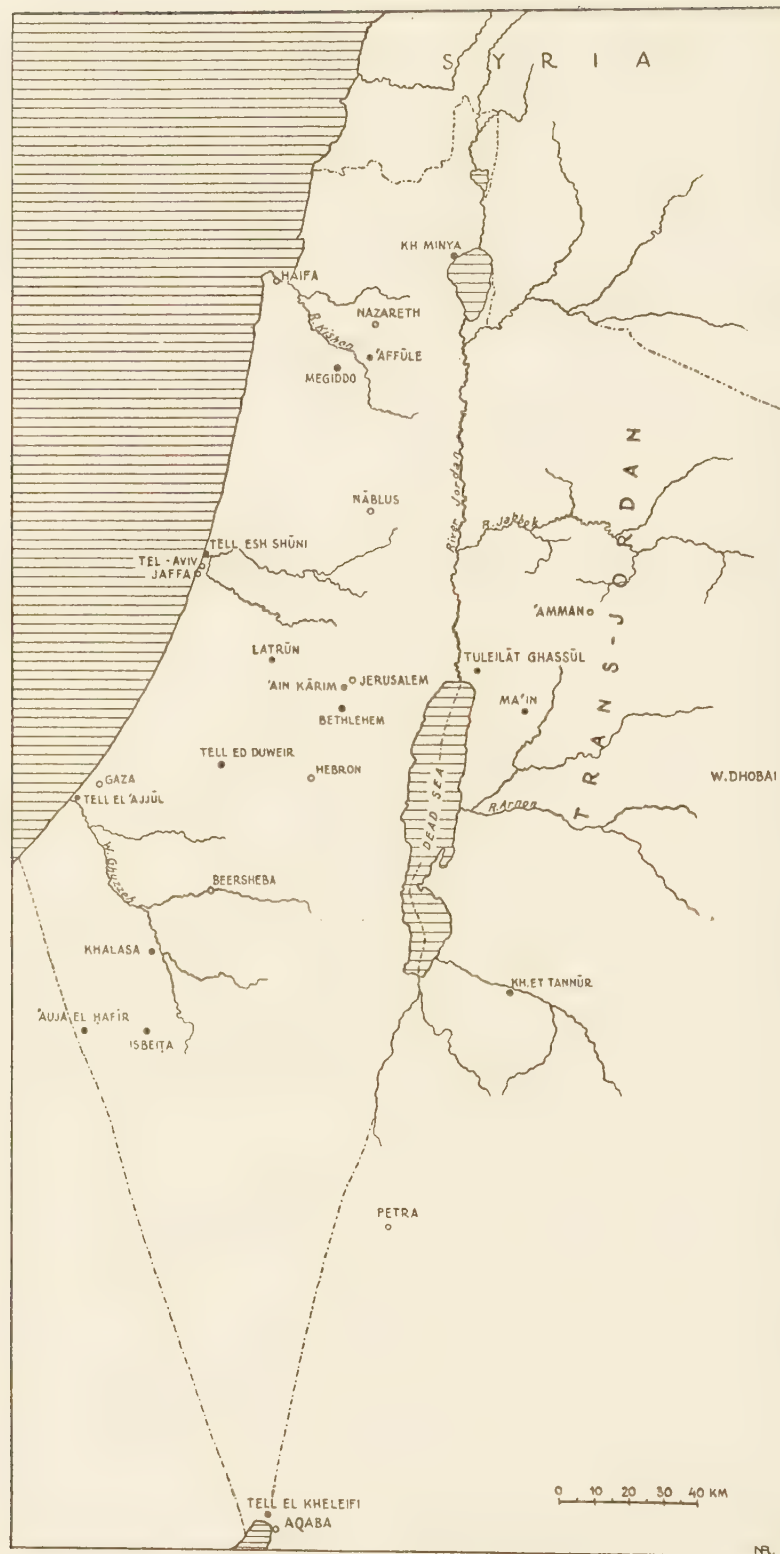


FIG. 1. (Sites of excavations shown thus •)

EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN

Isbeita

(Colt Archaeological Expedition; Acting-Director, T. J. Colin Baly.)

AT Isbeita a short season dealt with three buildings lying outside the town limits. One, a circular building, presents certain problems but was probably a dove-cot. The other two were farm-houses and in one case there was attached a field and an irrigation system, which was the subject of special study.

Khalasa

(Colt Archaeological Expedition; Acting-Director, T. J. Colin Baly.)

THE object of the season at Khalasa was to establish a sequence of pottery from Hellenistic to Arab times. It was hoped to get this information from the largest dump heap, lying to the north-east of the town, but the dump proved to be entirely 3rd-4th century A.D.

A careful surface examination and four further soundings showed that all dump heaps surrounding the town, extensive though they are, lie within the same limits of date.

The chief results can be summarized as follows:

- (1) A large body of pottery has been collected which it should be possible to date between close limits from the many associated coins.
- (2) It has been possible to show that, contrary to accepted opinion, sand was a serious problem at Khalasa by the third century A.D.
- (3) It is now clear that the greatest extent of Khalasa was reached by the fourth century A.D., at latest, and that it afterwards declined.
- (4) The existence of a Hellenistic cemetery was established.

A number of inscribed and decorated stones, in the possession of the modern inhabitants, were collected. Eight were dated; one is a gravestone of A.D. 426-7 and has no Christian characteristics and the rest are Christian gravestones of A.D. 544-603. The whole group of inscribed gravestones form the first representative collection from the common cemetery of a southern Palestinian town.

Khirbet Minya

(Goerresgesellschaft and Islamic Department, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; directed by Dr. Puttrich-Reignard.)

THE expedition worked from 1 November 1937, to 1 May 1938. Its principal aim was the clearance of the southern palace area, where the outlines of the buildings had been ascertained last year. No new discoveries were made as regards the general plan of the building, which consists of a mosque in the south-eastern corner, with an arcaded room adjoining it; next, a marble hall (perhaps the throne room), and a group of five rooms

EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN

at the other end. A few side rooms were discovered in the south-west corner. In the western group of buildings (which was connected with the southern palace) the only part excavated was a well-preserved staircase on the south. The existence of this staircase had been already ascertained by A. M. Schneider.

This year's campaign confirmed the conclusions of last year, viz. that the arcaded room was left unfinished by the builders. Only a few traces of the original sumptuous decoration of the marble hall were left. The supports dividing the room into three naves have disappeared, save for one marble base. Even the marble slabs covering the floor and the walls had been extracted and removed, with the exception of a few fragments.

The excavators were therefore agreeably surprised to find an excellently well-preserved floor mosaic in the big central room of the five-room group. As in all mosaic pavements found on this site, the decoration of this mosaic is exclusively geometrical. A cleverly thought-out system of lozenges covers the central field, which is surrounded by several frieze borders. The polychrome arrangement of the mosaic is especially charming; this result is obtained by the simultaneous employment of glass and stone cubes. In the small north-west room another mosaic was found; it was, however, not quite complete.

An investigation of the inner side of the north wall of the fort led to the discovery of a further series of rooms. Their import can, however, be only made clear by further excavation.

Many small finds confirmed the results of the former excavations. The material from the top levels is almost exclusively medieval Arabic (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), while the objects found in the lower levels (mostly unglazed pottery) can be regarded as Early Islamic. The foundation of Khirbet Minye in the Early Islamic (Umayyad) period is, therefore, not impossible in view of the evidence so far collected; a definite conclusion must, however, depend on the results of future work.

In order to ascertain the character of the strata below the fort level, a series of deep cuts and a sounding trench were made at the eastern part of the site, outside the fort. In all trenches (down to ground water-level, 3 m. deep) were found large quantities of thin red ware (ribbed and unribbed). So far the results obtained allow only hypotheses as regards these earlier levels.

Khirbet et Tannūr

(American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and Trans-Jordan Department of Antiquities; directed by Dr. N. Glueck.)

DURING the first half of December 1937 the expedition concluded the excavations at Khirbet et Tannūr, which had previously been carried on during

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March and April 1937. The first part of the work was devoted to the examination of the shrine in the raised inner temple-court. It had previously been determined that there were three distinct building periods in the history of the temple as a whole, and of the inner shrine in particular. The north walls of Shrines II and III were removed, and it was found that the pavement went under them, and had been laid originally against a low plinth extending along the north side of Shrine I.

Jebel Tannūr may have been a sacred mountain also in pre-Nabataean times. The original Nabataean shrine was a small, simple structure, measuring 1.45 m. by 1.38 m. It may well have been constructed in the first part of the first century B.C. A considerable period after the construction of Shrine I, and some time before the construction of Shrine II, perhaps in the third quarter of the first century B.C., the shrine had so grown in importance and wealth that a well-made, dressed-stone pavement was laid in the raised inner temple-area around Shrine I. The second shrine was built around and over the first. To this Shrine II belongs the Ḥaretat Ḥuldū inscription dated to 7 B.C. The third shrine, built over the second, may date to the first part of the second century A.D.

On the north and south sides of the temple complex are triclinia, in which the ritual meals took place. There is a striking relationship between the entire temple-plan of Khirbet et Tannūr and that of the Great High Place of Zibb 'Aṭūf at Petra.

Ma'in

(École biblique et archéologique française, Jerusalem.)

THE School undertook an excavation at Ma'in, near Madeba, in and near the house of Mufaḍḍi Ibn Musa el-Haddadin. The work revealed the existence of a church of one nave, flanked on the north by a small annex, perhaps the baptistery, on the south by another which probably extended as far as the apse. In the northern annex was a mosaic panel, with a biblical inscription (Isa. xi, 7), which at first represented a bull and a lion; however, the scene has been disfigured in antiquity by iconoclasts, and the mutilated animals were replaced afterwards by floral decoration. The decoration of the nave is much damaged. The motif of the central panel is a combination of circles and octagons, as found many times in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, especially in the crypt of the 'Eliaeneum', at Madeba (dating from A.D. 596). This panel is surrounded by a large band of acanthus leaves, with some figure scenes. They, like the figures of the central panel, were systematically destroyed, and replaced by geometric or floral motifs, rather clumsily executed. After the acanthus

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leaves comes a topographic border, which forms the principal interest of the mosaic. Originally it contained the representation of 24 churches of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, each surmounted by the name of the town, and separated by trees. The buildings and names preserved in whole or in part are: Ba'al Me'on, Esbous, Gadora, Areopolis, Kerakmouba, Odroa, Gaza, Maioumas, Ascalon, Diospolis or Eleutheropolis, Nicopolis.

Before the door was a very fragmentary inscription enclosed in a *tabula ansata*. Fortunately, the date is sufficiently clear and, according to the era of Bosra, corresponds to the year A.D. 719-20. It is the latest Byzantine dated inscriptions found in Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The date can only refer to the restoration of the mosaic after its destruction by the iconoclasts, probably under the reign of the Khalif Omar II. The first decoration and the church is to be dated from the beginning of the seventh century. During the Middle Arabic period, a dwelling was reared upon the site, and most of the damage suffered by the mosaic probably dates from this time; further damage was done during the building of the modern house.

A full account and a discussion of this discovery was published in the *Revue biblique*, 1938, pp. 227-58.

Megiddo

(Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; directed by Gordon Loud.)

NOTEWORTHY among the results of the 1937-8 season, which extended from late November to 15 May, was the establishment of the complete range of occupation of the site by clearance to bed-rock of the large east area in which Stratum XVII was left exposed at the end of the preceding season (see *QDAP*, VII, p. 45 f.).

Stratum XX, to which the earliest building period is assigned, lies immediately upon bed-rock and employs in its fragmentary architecture both the natural rock and crudely built stone walls. It contains a mixture of pottery, some Chalcolithic and carrying over into the next stratum, while the remainder might almost be termed Neolithic. Crude bowl shapes, in extremely coarse grey ware with signs of rough pebble burnishing, and decorated wares have their nearest analogies in Neolithic Jericho. In decoration, chevron patterns, both incised and painted, are fairly common, while parallel painted lines are the most profuse. While no absolute date is suggested for this material, the middle of the 4th millennium seems a conservative estimate for its inception.

With Stratum XIX architecture suddenly appears fully developed. An extensive building, of which only a portion falls within the area of excavation, is of mudbrick laid upon single-coursed stone foundations. A wall 3 metres

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wide extending across the entire area provides one side of a room containing what appears to be an altar. There are no objects to prove or disprove this assumption. A stone pavement following roughly the slope of the rock below extends toward the edge of the mound. Incised drawings of men and animals on some of the stones recall the scratched drawings on pottery of Stage V of the Chalcolithic series excavated in 1932 on the east slope of the mound. This parallel is evident in the pottery itself, of which Chalcolithic forms far outnumber E.B. wares. Among these Chalcolithic forms are 'cornet' shapes not dissimilar to those of Tuleilât Ghassûl. The Megiddo specimens, however, are of much finer ware and are invariably decorated with red lines. Such advanced decorative technique as incised herring-bone patterns enclosed by red paint is found upon bowl rims. That this stratum enjoyed a long existence seems obvious.

The tremendous city wall, originally 4 metres in thickness and later increased to 8, of Stratum XVIII suggests Ai. The pottery, which extends over a long range, bears analogy to the sanctuary and palace periods of the same site. Occasional thumb-indented ledge handles, inner-ledge bowls, and grey burnished ware show the Chalcolithic influence of the preceding stratum, though E.B. wares predominate.

The newly investigated earlier levels only substantiate the original E.B. assignment to Stratum XVII, which lasted almost to the close of the 3rd millennium. Hand-made or tournette-turned platters, stump-based vessels, string-cut base bowls, and vessels with pushed-up ledge handles are predominant in the pottery, which is close to that of Stratum XVIII. A large-scale building which extends outside the excavated area may, upon further excavation, prove to be a temple.

Clearance of the Hyksos levels under the palace in the north area provides corroborative evidence of the M.B. cultural sequence originally determined in the east area. The city gate of Stratum XIII, which, with the city wall of this level, is of mudbrick, lies under the palace. The city gate and approach during the palace periods have also been cleared.

Tell el 'Ajjûl

(British School of Archaeology in Egypt; directed by Miss M. A. Murray and Dr. E. Mackay.)

THE season was a short one, as the excavations were not begun till the middle of February. The portion of the site which was excavated was a continuation of the Hyksos town found previously by Sir Flinders Petrie. Remains of streets and houses were uncovered. In these were many burials, all of the Bronze Age. All yielded a certain amount of pottery, and a few yielded also

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gold and silver jewellery, in the shape of butterfly earrings, twisted earrings, toggle-pins, &c. A hoard of the precious metals was found, the objects being of the same type as in the hoards published by Petrie in *Ancient Gaza*, iv. A horse-burial of a type that suggests a sacrifice was discovered.

Tell ed Duweir

(Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East; directed by the late J. L. Starkey. Acting-Director: C. H. Inge.)

THE eastern face of the Palace-Fort has been exposed along its whole length of 210 feet, down to the level of the white plastered court. This work strengthens the conclusion attained by Mr. Starkey, that Lachish was twice destroyed by fire within a decade. Built up against the massive foundation courses of the Palace-Fort was a row of poorly constructed houses. The floors were covered in thick ash, and among the pottery in the charred debris the greater part of a water-jar was found, on which a jotting or receipt had been written in the manner of the Samaria ostraca. Not much is legible, but the first words are clearly 'In the ninth (year)' and the comparison with Jeremiah, xxxix. 1, is justifiable also on archaeological grounds. The topmost stones of the Palace steps had been incorporated in the floors of these makeshift houses above, and on their removal ten steps of the flight in use until the time of the Babylonian attack of 597 B.C. were recovered. The Palace-Fort was not rebuilt after the initial burning, and there was therefore no need to replace the steps. They themselves had replaced an earlier flight, in use probably 600–700 B.C., of which only the two topmost steps have been exposed. On the vertical face of the upper one are scratched drawings of a lion and other objects, and in the corner some schoolboy has written the first five letters of the Hebrew-Phoenician alphabet, confirming that the alphabet was studied in its conventional order as early as the seventh century B.C. At the base of the steps was a mud and stone podium plastered over, which may have served as a mounting-block. In front of them, against the Palace wall, was a curious 'drum' of hard limestone, the upper surface of which was pitted with eight small depressions. Père Vincent compares it to a similar stone at Mallia, in Crete.

Examination of the area within the city gate has progressed; a road runs into the city, flanked on each side by shops and houses, and an alley turns northwards just inside the gate. The inner gate tower was of brick on stone foundations; two of the southern piers have been exposed. Between them three steps lead to a doorway (still unexcavated), which presumably gave access to the upper stories. A double-tiered bench fills the remaining space.

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The raised cobbled threshold of the inner gate is intact, and two grooves had been left which were filled with ash, possibly to take the wooden beams on which the doors were set up. Cf. Nehemiah, iii, 3.

It is now established that the great pit, south-east of the Palace-Fort, was never finished or put into use. Quarrying had proceeded further at the southern end, where there was a drop of some twelve feet, while in places the masons had only partially cut out great blocks of stone. At the north-west corner of the pit a boss of limestone had not been removed owing to its harder nature, and some natural resemblance to a human head had encouraged the masons to increase the likeness.

A section adjoining the cemetery area cleared last year at the north-east corner of the mound was examined. It was honeycombed with cave dwellings of Early Bronze Age date and later tomb-chambers, many of which had cut into each other. One large cave showed on its walls the marks of the flint adzes used to enlarge the interior, and here a fine 'hole mouth' jar stood in position, practically intact. Some caves had been re-used as dwelling-places in the Middle Jewish period, and a good selection of burnished vessels was found. An Iron-Age burial in a well-cut chamber presented a chemical problem, as a black deposit had formed inside the sealed tomb and over an extensive area outside, which could not have been caused by fire. Analysis showed it to be of organic nature, but the reason for its presence is still obscure.

Finds on the saddle area, close to the camp-house, included an ostrakon from the debris covering the Jewish roadway. It appears to be a list of names followed by numerals. Two robbed tombs supplied fragments of at least three pottery coffins, of the 'slipper' type. The lids were moulded to represent human features, and down the front of one was an inscription in hieroglyphs, badly imitated by a local scribe. The reading is uncertain, but a phrase 'Waters of the west' is not disputed. Associated objects date this group to the XIXth Dynasty. An isolated discovery in the southern valley near by was the fragments of an anthropomorphic vase, burnished, and painted in black and red.

Work on the Temple area is at last complete; only the west wall of the building, founded on bed-rock, now remains. Elsewhere the early rubbish pits have been cleared and all soil removed from the bottom of the fosse. Some fine ceremonial vessels were recovered, including a gigantic cooking-pot, a brazier and a polychrome vase with metopes of ibex, an ibis, and a tunny fish. The south face of the massive cross wall over the fosse, on which the antechamber was founded, has been exposed. This wall was

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based on a rock ledge, left standing some two feet above the bottom of the moat.

It will now be possible to start publication of the Temple area, and this winter the Expedition will be engaged on this necessary task in London. It is hoped to resume work at Lachish when publication of results to date is complete. A detailed report on the crania found in 1935-6 will shortly be available.

Tell el Kheleife

(American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem; directed by Dr. N. Glueck.)

IN March-May 1938 the School undertook the excavation of Tell el Kheleife, situated near the Gulf of Aqaba, and about half-way between Aqaba and Mrashrash. The site is to be identified with Ezion-Geber. It is now several hundred metres distant from the gulf, into which the shore-line extends itself at the rate of several centimetres a year. About a third of the site has been excavated thus far. Altogether 45 rooms have been opened up. The construction is mud-brick. At the north-west corner of the site is an intricate smelting and refining plant, with double rows of flues in the walls of the rooms, and an interconnecting system of air-channels which extend lengthwise through the walls. Copper mainly, and some iron, were smelted and refined. In the rest of the town were numerous workshops for the manufacture of metal articles. Fish-hooks, small spearheads used in spearing fish, fibulae, animal figurines, nails, small dishes, &c., were made out of copper, and to a lesser degree, iron. Copper and iron deposits exist in the vicinity, and along the length of the Arabah. All indications point to the fact that the main period of the occupation of Tell el Kheleife, and the best buildings, belongs to the time of King Solomon. His ships used to sail from Ezion-Geber to Ophir and back.

All of the pottery found belongs to the Early Iron Age, and there are enough familiar types to relate it to the Early Iron Age pottery of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. There are sufficient differences in much of the pottery found, however, from that generally prevalent in other Palestine and Trans-Jordan sites of the same period, to compel a new classification. Ezion-Geber is probably the apex of a cultural triangle formed by North-western Arabia and North-eastern Sinai. When these areas are explored, it is probable that the same types of pottery will be found as in Ezion-Geber. The new types there are distinguished in particular by horn-handles and ledge-handles on crude hand-made pots. The ledge-handles are large and small, but always have a definite utility. Sometimes there were small, vertical ledge-handles,

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although most of them were of the horizontal type. Many of the latter type are at times so deeply serrated that they may be said to consist of a series of horn-handles wedged together at their bases. They might be designated as 'horn-ledge-handles'. The presence of the ledge-handle type of pottery may be explained in part by the utility of such pottery in a smelting plant and a manufacturing centre. A more adequate explanation would appear to be that they belong to a distinctive cultural area, quite apart from that of Judah and Edom. More familiar types of pottery also exist at Tell el Kheleife, such as cooking pots with ribbed rims, pilgrim flasks, some, but not much, burnished and painted ware, lamps, &c. The ledge- and horn-handle pottery is frequently found together with the other types. None of the pottery precedes the thirteenth century B.C., and little of the pottery can be dated beyond the eighth century B.C. A number of stamped jar handles were found. They require cleaning, being encrusted with salt.

Tell esh Shūni (Tell el Kudādi)

(Hebrew University, Jerusalem; directed by Dr. E. L. Sukenik.)

DURING the winter of 1937-8 the Hebrew University excavated the small tell, near the mouth of the Jarkon river, with funds provided by the Palestine Electric Corporation. Remains of a fortress dated by the pottery found to the tenth-ninth centuries B.C. were unearthed.

The fortress was built of dressed sandstone and consisted of a line of structure, 7 m. wide, running from south to north for a length of about 30 m. and turning at its north end to the west; here the line of building could be followed for about 6 m.; the rest has been washed away by the sea. It is to be supposed that a parallel line of structure existed also at the south end, but nothing of it has remained. Whether this structure was closed to the west, or open towards the sea, we cannot tell. A number of square or rectangular chambers were found inside the structure, flanking a central entrance at the west. The preserved height was about 4 m. From the number of disintegrated bricks found it may be assumed that the upper courses were built of burnt bricks. At some later period the structure was burnt down, as shown by a layer of ashes. Then the building was reinforced at the east side by a wall, $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. thick. A paved rampart sloping towards the east led up to the entrance of this building.

To the north, at a distance of 20 m., are remains of a wall of the Persian period, consisting of rubble walls consolidated with ashlar piers at intervals. This wall was found during the building of the Power Station and was brought to the notice of Mr. P. L. O. Guy, Director of the British School of

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Archaeology, Jerusalem, who kindly took charge of its clearing before the Hebrew University started excavations.

Besides these two periods, remains of the Byzantine age were found, consisting of poor remains of houses and of a bath.

Tuleilāt Ghassūl

(Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome-Jerusalem; Field Director, P. R. Köppel, S.J.)

EXCAVATION was continued during the eighth Season (3 January–1 March, 1938), according to the system used since 1932. Further work was done in the eastern half of the 100 by 50 m. section of tell 3, on which attention has been concentrated since 1932. Going down by successive layers of 20 cm. each, the excavations have now reached a level of 3 m. below the top of the mound. In strips A, B, and C special care has been devoted this season to the registration of a large number of animal bones. Most frequent among these are pig bones.

In strip A a layer IVB was reached between 1.50 and 1.70 m., but it seems the level was not uniform as it appeared and reached in strip C 2.30 m.

Layer IVA lies between 1.55 and 2.20 m., layer III between 2.30 m. and 2.60 m., both with a more uniform level than IVB; the intermediate layers are, therefore, exceedingly thin and cannot represent long periods.

Remains of wall paintings have again been found in layers II and III, but so far nothing like a complete composition has been discovered.

A copper hook turned up in an excellent stratigraphic context and was handed over to the Palestine Archaeological Museum for analysis. No tin was found in it. This object once more confirms the view that the term 'Neolithic' cannot be applied to the culture of the Ghassūlian settlement. It should be qualified as 'Middle Chalcolithic', on the assumption that Megiddo V–VII, Beisān XV–XVIII, and Jericho VIII represent the Upper Chalcolithic.

The relation between the occupation of tell 1 and tell 3 constitutes a special problem which will be dealt with elsewhere. Artifacts and pottery point to a uniformity of culture which in spite of some similarity with Jericho VIII and IX has its own character.

A preliminary report together with some photographic illustrations has been published in *Biblica*, XIX, pp. 260–6.

The excavations of this season have been considerably hampered by unfavourable weather.

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Wādi Dhobai

(British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem; directed by Mr. J. Waechter.)

THE expedition left for Dhobai on 4 December 1937 for a short prospecting trip, and returned at the beginning of February 1938, on account of the weather. There were four sites in the wādi known when the expedition started, two found by Mr. Kirkbride and two found later by Mr. Harding. During the first season the expedition found five more. Work was resumed in April 1938. During this second season one more site has been found, making ten in all. There are seven sites of a culture which has a strong resemblance to the Tahunian II of Jericho in its scrapers, points, one type of burin, *lames de dégagement*, and core-tablets; but the culture has one type of burin of its own. The other three sites have end-scrapers that can be compared with those of Wādi Mughāra E., but so far there has not been enough material collected to make a more detailed comparison.

The culture of the seven sites has been called Dhobainian, but this name may be dropped when more is known. The Dhobainian sites have hut circles on the surface which are lacking in the other group.

It is hoped to return to Wādi Dhobai in the autumn of this year and excavate the sites on a bigger scale.

Archaeological Survey of Palestine

(Palestine Exploration Fund and British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem; directed by P. L. O. Guy.)

CONDITIONS have not, of late, been propitious for visiting antiquity sites, but nevertheless a certain amount of field-work has been accomplished by the Archaeological Survey of Palestine.

Several trips have been made in the Negeb which have resulted in the discovery and planning of a number of unrecorded buildings, and traces of ancient terracing for cultivation have been noted in many places. A small Early Bronze or Chalcolithic site has been observed at *Kurnub* where an examination of the main wādi has shown that there are several weirs above the well-known dams and that the two lowest dams were used for storing water, of which they could contain at least two million gallons. The Kurnub water-works are elaborate and extensive, and it is hoped to study them in detail with the aid of air photographs.

Work has also been done in map sheet No. 7 (Jaffa–Tel Aviv). At *Laṭrūn* it has been possible to trace the course of a number of walls in the Crusader castle, and to elucidate the disposition of its vaults, with the result that an

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architect's plan has been made which shows that the castle was an important structure of considerable size.

At *Rās el 'Ain* a number of details previously unrecorded have been observed in the Qal'at, and of this too an architect's plan has been made.

A plan and section have been drawn of the *'Aneiziyye* cistern at Ramle, where the striking of the pointed arches has been determined. These are the earliest pointed arches known, being dated to A.D. 789.

The plans and elevations which the Public Works Department had made of *Ḥisr Ḥindās*, built near Lydda by Baybars in A.D. 1273, have been checked, and some archaeological details added. This bridge is in danger of destruction by flood, and observations have been made as to the causes of and possible precautions against this.

An inspection of *Tell esh Shūni* (*Tell el Kudādi*), at the mouth of the 'Auja (Jarkon) showed that it was in imminent danger of being unwittingly destroyed by the operations of the Palestine Electric Corporation. When, however, the Survey pointed this out, the Corporation showed great interest in the site, and provided funds which permitted proper excavations to be carried out under Dr. Sukenik and Mr. Yeivin, on behalf of the Hebrew University.

In addition to the foregoing it has been possible to inspect a number of sites of less importance, and some attention has also been given to the possibility of using ancient sites as a means for gauging the rate of advance of sand dunes, and of estimating the dates at which they began to form. The latter would appear to vary with localities, but in no case to be very ancient. In the region just south of Jaffa practically the whole of the dunes would appear to have formed since Roman times, and their rate of advance seems to have been in the neighbourhood of five metres a year, but this figure is provisional.

Elsewhere, the investigations of the Survey go to show that man-aided soil erosion has been steadily on the increase since Roman and Byzantine times, and that it has been a potent factor in the abandoning of many sites which then flourished.

The Royal Air Force has most kindly supplied the Survey with a number of air photos, and these are proving to be most valuable.

'Ain Kārim

(Custodia di Terra Santa, directed by R. P. Bellarmino Bagatti, O.F.M.)

THE clearance of the Sanctuary of the Visitation at 'Ain Kārim took place from the 8th of March to 30th of June with an average of 7 to 8 workers a day chosen from among the local inhabitants.

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The ancient constructions of the Sanctuary of the Visitation are built against a rocky declivity and rise one or two stories above the foundation. They are surrounded by a thick enclosure wall, which forms a courtyard in front of the ruins. The clearance had the purpose (1) of tracing the original form of the monument hidden by additions of recent date; (2) of making explorations below the surface in the region comprised within the large enclosure wall, in order to ascertain the extent and character of the ruins.

The excavations carried out on the interior of the crypt have brought to light a small room paved with flags and a gallery cut into the rocky cliff, where there is a spring. The walls of this edifice are constructed of large stones, whose foundations rest directly on a clay bed, and are plastered. A drain made of clay pipes, placed on the native clay, traversed the entire building and conducted the overflow of the spring from a plastered well to the exterior of the structure. Inside the cliff the gallery was faced with masonry of square blocks disposed in regular courses (of about 30 cm.) and culminated in a vault with an arch having two centres, although very close together (one-seventh of the diameter). The floor was paved with large rough tesserae, white, black, and pink.

Above this edifice there were constructed the crypt and the church, in which material of the former construction was reused. This later building is characterized by very thick walls whose facings consisted of masonry in which much plaster and ashes were noted, but the core consisted of fine sifted earth. The masonry is composed almost entirely of rubble except at the corner and in the doorways, where are carefully dressed blocks exhibiting diagonal strokes of a tool and some letters.

In the great thickness of the walls required by the imposition of massive vaults there are also recesses, as for example in the crypt, where one was reserved for 'the stone in which St. John was concealed', mentioned by visitors. Of the roof nothing remains except two springers of the vault of a very simple type of architecture. The walls were covered with a double coat of plaster, one succeeding the other.

At the sides of the church there are three large halls, two of which are very well preserved. They have the same constructional features as the church.

The excavations in the courtyard were carried down to the native rock or clay everywhere except in the north-west corner, where there was discovered a chamber about 7 m. square, whose walls were covered with a very strong coat of plaster, which had been prepared with crushed sherds. The walls, which rise above the native clay not more than 1.50 m., are constructed of well-dressed blocks in courses of about 30 cm.

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The filling of earth produced a number of small objects in a fragmentary condition; in particular: (1) immediately on the pavement of the cistern two glass lamps with handles by which they were suspended; (2) somewhat higher up pottery lamps of the 'channel-nozzle' type with handles; fragments of marble and sherds with traces of inscriptions; (3) near the surface, which corresponds to the level of the church and the enclosure wall, glazed plates and sherds with vermilion linear ornaments of Arabic type.

This chamber has been enclosed by a wall in such a way that scholars may easily have access to the same.

In front of the church was found a catch-basin for collecting rain water. In clearing it, four glass lamps destined for a hanging container were found; their form is rustic.

The Custody of the Holy Land will publish a detailed account of all material recovered.

OTHER DISCOVERIES¹

1 July 1937 to 30 June 1938

Remains of buildings, foundations, &c.

IN the course of repairs undertaken early in 1938 the Armenian authorities had occasion to remove the wooden screens and altar furnishings from the central and northern apses of St. Helena's chapel in the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. Two medieval stone altars were thereby exposed, as well as the masonry of the apses (now stripped of plaster) and remains of a marble floor in the central apse.

The main altar is of well-jointed limestone ashlar covered by a single marble slab measuring 2.41 m. $\times$ 1.34 m. The moulded edge of this slab projects about 8 cm. beyond the front and sides of the altar itself. A slot and four iron pegs near the back edge of the slab indicate the position of a superstructure that has now disappeared. There is also a slot sunk in the top of the masonry which runs in about 0.84 m. from near the centre of the back of the altar immediately below the covering slab.

In the front of the altar is a recess 1.01 m. wide and 0.41 m. deep, spanned by six voussoirs forming a low segmental arch. The arch springs from two wedge-shaped stones, the backs of which are cut to prolong the curve of the backs of the voussoirs.

The altar is aligned on the front edge of the barrel vault preceding the half-dome of the apse. In the floor, on each side of it, there is a strip of red marble with a square slot sunk in it, now refilled.

There are vestiges of a piscina in the north side of the apse, as well as a rough cupboard which has been opened directly behind the altar at a period subsequent to the construction of the apse.

The masonry both of the apse and of the altar is heavily scored with incised crosses of various forms.

The altar, or prothesis table, in the northern apse is also of limestone ashlar, smaller and rather less well built than the main altar. It is surmounted by a plain slab of marble.

In the back of the table there is an arched recess 0.36 m. deep and 0.66 m. wide. The edge of the recess is bevelled. As in the main altar, there is a slot, here 0.52 m. long, running in from the back beneath the top slab.

The front of the table is aligned with that of the main altar.

¹ Continued from Vol. VII, pp. 56-60.

OTHER DISCOVERIES

In the wall immediately south of the prothesis table is a semicircular niche, 1.27 m. from the ground, measuring 0.73 m. in height and width.

The removal of the plaster from the walls of the chapel has exposed a number of names painted in Gothic script on the masonry of the walls. One of these inscriptions includes the date 1501.

In connexion with the works projected by the Municipality of *Jerusalem* in the moat area near the Damascus Gate a shaft has been sunk by the Department of Antiquities against the west face of the western of the two towers flanking the gate. The excavations have shown that the base of the existing tower consists of drafted masonry, laid in courses which average one metre in height. At a depth of some $4\frac{1}{4}$ m. the wall was found to rest on a moulded plinth of approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. in height. The foundations of the tower below the assumed original ground-level are of a massive type of drafted masonry similar to that of the superstructure. The curtain wall shows the work of several periods, but in the lowest courses is evidently contemporary with the tower.

At *Acre* the construction of a road between the Municipal Gardens and the rampart has led to the discovery of architectural fragments mostly of the Arab period and not earlier than the fourteenth century A.D. These included marble slabs engraved with geometric designs, capitals, bases and column shafts, moulded voussoirs, and cornice stones.

At *Gaza* ancient foundations were discovered 7 m. below the surface on the site of the Ḥammām el Mubāshir, an old bath removed a few years ago.

Aqueducts, wells, reservoirs.

A deep rock-cut channel was discovered by workmen employed on the construction of a new house in the Sh. Jarrah Quarter, *Jerusalem*. The channel is about 3 m. east of the main Nāblus road, to which it runs parallel for a distance of some 22 m., being blocked at each end with falls of earth. The width is 60–70 cm. and the depth approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres below the level of the road; in places the toolmarks of the original construction are visible on the rock sides. The channel is roofed with rough slabs of stone and appears to have been some form of aqueduct bringing water to the city from the north. A section of this aqueduct was discovered some metres farther north when the Nablus road was being made up in 1901.

In the course of removing the surface soil from the slope of a hill at *Yāzūr* in the vicinity of the previously discovered Early Bronze necropolis, two more tombs were discovered, cut in the gravel.

An erosion of part of the hill at *Tell Jerīshe* has exposed a Middle Bronze

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tomb containing fragments of jars, juglets, and a broken basalt pestle and mortar.

Another Middle Bronze cave tomb was accidentally found at *Kh. Kurdānā* during the excavation of fish-ponds to be constructed there. The finds included a stone axe and a quantity of pottery, including juglets (piriform, with pointed base) and carinated bowls with disc base, all resembling the late Middle Bronze pottery from Rās el 'Ain (*QDAP*, V, pp. 111-26; VI, pp. 99-120).

A Roman necropolis containing several sarcophagi was partly cleared at *Natanya* settlement. The necropolis seems to be extensive and to have belonged to the ancient site now represented by the village of Umm Khālid.

Tomb-chambers of the common type with loculi and containing in some cases glass and pottery lamps and vessels, bronze bracelets, rings and bells, and iron nails and rings, were discovered in various places, including *el Jīsh*,¹ *Kafr Bir'im*, and *Nazareth*. A mortuary chamber with a pit in its centre, heaped with bones, was also found at *el Jīsh*. At *el Bi'ne* an interesting rock-cut tomb was discovered, combining a chamber with *kokhim* with another containing two burials under arcosolia. Another large tomb with nine rock-cut arcosolia, including one over two burials, was found at *Daliat el Karmil*; the latter tomb had a vestibule and a door of a type common in Northern Palestine, viz. a stone door imitating a wooden portal decorated with nails, bosses, and bands.

Mosaic pavements.

During the reconstruction of an ancient well at *Bir Abu Juraideh* a mosaic pavement (possibly the narthex of a church) was discovered to the north of it. The pattern of the pavement consisted of scales in red, white, and blue, similar to the pavement of the narthex of the church at *Kh. 'Aside*² dated to the fifth century A.D. Another patterned mosaic pavement was discovered in the school ground of the *Ra'anana* settlement. Its decoration consisted of circular medallions enclosed in a guilloche pattern, with triangles and lozenges inside the medallions; the colours used were white, brick-red, yellow, blue, and green. The mosaic was enclosed in a white surround. A third pavement with a geometrical pattern was found at *Jericho*; it belongs to a building orientated east and west.

At *Kh. el Furn* the remains of an ancient building were found, with a floor partly of mosaic and partly of marble slabs (35×60 cm., 5 cm. thick.) Plain mosaic pavements were found at *Petaḥ Tiqvah* and at *Qal'at Rās el 'Ain*.

¹ Cf. *QDAP*, Vol. VIII, pp. 45-50.

² *QDAP*, Vol. III, pp. 17-19.

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Inscriptions.

Three fragmentary inscriptions were found during the road construction at *Acre* mentioned above. Two were in Greek: .. Z/ .. TP .. /KH .. and .. EXIOY/ .. AETH and one in Latin, probably a Crusaders' tombstone: GVILL .. /EDEVS .. /NATAS .. / .. CEAM ..

At *Kh. en Nazle* a stone, 1 m. long, 23 cm. high and 18 cm. thick, was found during the construction of a road, with a fragmentary Greek inscription written on it:

.. BIOYCKMATPΩNACKENT ..

Small Finds.

Various small finds made at *Ascalon* in the course of the year include a limestone sarcophagus with a stone pillow, a small bronze statuette, a Roman marble head, fragments of decorated *terra sigillata* ware and a fragment of an Egyptian basalt statue inscribed with hieroglyphs.

CORRIGENDUM

With reference to the note on 'Uyūn Mūsa in *QDAP*, Vol. VII, p. 57, Dr. M. Stekelis, of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, has drawn our attention to the fact that this site was discovered in 1929 by the Prêtres du Sacré Cœur and fully described in the *Revue biblique*, 1930 (pp. 552-65), by R. P. Duvignau, S. C.-J.

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